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ARRIAN

ARRIAN

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION

BY

E. ILIFF ROBSON, B.D.

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ANABASIS ALEXANDRI

BOOKS I—IV

IN TWO VOLUMES

I

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CONTENTS

PREFATORY NOTE

The text of this edition is that of Dübner, ed. Didot; and this in turn is that of the Parisian MS. usually noted as B, but by Dübner as A. B, Codex Parisinus gr. 1753, fifteenth century, is, with C (Constantinopolitanus, fifteenth century), almost certainly directly derived from a copy of A, first hand; and since the lacuna of VII. 12. 7 represents a loss of an exact page of A, Roos is no doubt correct in regarding A as the archetypal text. A, Codex Vindobonensis, twelfth or early thirteenth century, was corrected later, and the text of A^2 is represented by k, the "Florentine best codex" of Gronow, also used by Dübner, to whom the agreement of B and k is paramount. A has gaps, owing to loss or damage of pages; and the "second group" of MSS. have in common a large number of smaller lacunae; so that B and C, with k (from A^2), alone are without lacunae (save for the common lacuna of Book VII).

For the *Indica*, A with B give the best text. Arrian's attempt at Herodotean dialect is creditable, but not without errors.

The task, therefore, of an editor of the *Anabasis* is comparatively easy; but this does not mean that ordinary critical methods can be omitted. There are two directions, in especial, in which editors have moved. On the one hand there is a natural tendency to "atticize" Arrian. His tenses are not always

according to rule; he uses the imperfect of completed action; his prepositions are sometimes strange; he even uses κατὰ for "up-stream";[1] he seems to misplace τε and γε, and δὲ does not always correspond to its μέν. Krüger and Sintenis have done much to put him right; but such correction is based on the idea that the Greeks always used their best tools. Then again, Arrian, desiring clearness, repeats himself much and unnecessarily, and this leads to a crop of "similar endings," from which either confusion has resulted (see I. 12 *ad init.*) or omissions, usually small, have been freely suspected. A similar suspicion arises from his rather unusual use of τε and μέν.[2] My own view is on the whole against the proposed insertions, and wholly against the atticizing tendencies of editors. B, C and k are, as has been seen, free from the many lacunae of the "second group" of MSS., and we can hardly be wrong, in default of A, in adopting a consensus of A² (= k) BL (Laurentian, fifteenth century, which according to Roos is the best representative of the "second class" of MSS.). I have naturally made much use of the apparatus of Roos, ed. Teubner maior, 1907; but I do not record suggestions which, while interesting enough, appear (on Roos' own estimate of the MSS.) unnecessary, nor varieties of proper names except where there is difference of persons (*e.g.* IV. 19. 2 and IV. 21. 1, 22. 1), nor, as a rule, the evidence of Suidas and Eustathius, nor the variants found in the Poliorcetica (Sieges of Tyre and Gaza, from II. 15 and 25). Again, while precision in word-forms is important, yet where one cannot dogmatize (*e.g.* as to ἠρίφθη and ἠρείφθη, I. 21. 4) and the translation is

[1] II. 1. 3. [2] See *e.g.* I. 7. 2.

not affected, I have not deserted the MSS. Thus Arrian's pluperfects form a constant bone of contention for those who desire to contend, but neither Cobet nor Lobeck can assure us further than that Arrian ought to have written this and that; again even inscriptions seem erroneous at least in one proper name, Πολυσπέρχων (II. 12. 2), and certain ascriptions of parentage, and even historical and geographical notes, appear to contain errors of Arrian, and not of the copyists, who, however, mistake now and then numerical symbols (see II. 27. 3).

Those who desire a full critical apparatus will turn to Roos, to whom due acknowledgment is here made. There is no lack there of sound and often brilliant suggestions (including those of Polak), but since emendation belongs rather to a text which is impossible or difficult to translate as it stands, than to a text which may merely lack finish or precision, the *Anabasis* of Arrian hardly seems a good subject for this attractive art.

I have confined my own suggestions to a single passage of I. 1. 6.

Editions, Translations, etc.

Apart from Gronow's edition, we have for the *Anabasis*, Abicht, 1875 and 1889, Krüger, 1835, Sintenis, 1867, Roos, ed. Teubner maior, 1907; there is a school edition of Books I and II by H. W. Auden (Blackwood), 1902, otherwise a paucity of school editions of so interesting an authority. Chinnock's (E. J.) translation of *Anabasis* and *Indica*, with useful notes, is out of print. The *Indica* has appeared in the excellent Paris series (text and translation; Association G. Budé).

PREFATORY NOTE

Considerable portions of *Anabasis* and *Indica* appear, in good translations, in the five volumes which make up J. W. McCrindle's *History of Ancient India*. See also the *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VI (W. W. Tarn), and the *Cambridge History of India*; also Pelham in *English Hist. Review*, Oct. 1896. Arrian does not attract scholars to any extent in the learned periodicals or year-books; recent volumes of *Bursian's Year-Book* have some short notes. The *Journal of Hellenic Studies* within recent years has interesting notes (W. W. Tarn, vol. xlviii. (ii.), L. R. Taylor, xlvii. (i.) and xlviii. (i.), "Daimon of the Persian King"; A. D. Nock, xlviii. (i.), "Ruler Cult," on the question of "prostration" (*proskynesis*) before Alexander. This act naturally provokes controversy, but we may doubt whether even Alexander himself was quite clear what it did, or might, connote). Arrian's general trustworthiness comes in for a good deal of discussion in these articles.

ARRIAN (FLAVIUS ARRIANUS)

The facts of Arrian's life are simple. He was a Greek, born at Nicomedia about A.D. 96, and his *floruit* therefore falls in the reigns of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. Hadrian appointed him Governor of Cappadocia (131 to 137), and as he saw some military service, he writes as an expert. This post was a most unusual honour for a Greek. He was Archon at Athens in 147, and died probably about 180. As a pupil of Epictetus he wrote up lecture notes or *memorabilia*, and is an important authority for his master's teaching.

His value as a historian of Alexander depends (as

W. W. Tarn points out in *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VI.) on the rather insoluble question, how far official history is accurate history. For Arrian makes no secret of his adherence to two main authorities, Ptolemaeus and Aristobulus. Of the former, he naïvely remarks that, as a king, he was not likely to falsify; moreover, that, writing after Alexander's death, he would not stand to gain anything by flattery. This view does more credit to Arrian's regard for royalty than to his critical sense. Ptolemaeus might have a good deal to gain after Alexander's death by glorifying his own part in the expedition. Mahaffy (*Greek Life and Thought*, p. 205) speaks of "Ptolemy's account . . . in which no doubt he gave no carping or incomplete story of his own achievements"; and in a footnote on the same page adds "Ptolemy (Soter) has had curious fates as an author. While Arrian praises his *Memoirs* of Alexander as the soberest and most veracious book, his name was afterwards prefixed to the fables ascribed to Callisthenes, and there is extant (C. Müller's *Praefatio in Pseudo-Callisthenem*, p. xxvii) an epigram on his ignorance and deceit from a mediaeval reader."

Let us, however, put aside any suspicions that Ptolemaeus was one of the jackals who sought his titbits of glory from the leavings of the lion's feast, and let us discount mediaeval epigrams; the question still arises, if Ptolemaeus wrote what would be counted accurate official history of Alexander's marches and victories, is such official history likely to be accurate from our present-day standpoint? And Arrian clearly regards Ptolemaeus as his chief authority.

Readers will have opportunity of forming their own

views on this question, as they will also be able to read Arrian's own little self-revelations and the expressions of his own opinions. It is to his credit that where he feels it to be his duty he does not fear to criticize severely Alexander himself. Though he was something of a military expert, and describes the customary manoeuvres of Alexander clearly enough, he becomes rather obscure where anything unusual occurs. Ordinarily he is a readable and rather dull historian, but—in common with other ancient historians—he sometimes uses two or more authorities without making a very successful blend.

That he soberly eschews, for the most part, the romantic elements in Alexander's career, gives him an especial value in view of the regrettably inadequate documentation of one of the greatest of all military exploits.

Alexander's Troops, Tactics, and Arrian's Terminology.

Alexander's tactics were, fortunately, of the simplest kind, though most effective, especially against "native" troops. His centre was the "phalanx," his right was his best and heaviest cavalry, his left was other cavalry, and outside the right wing, and possibly the left, were archers and other light troops. The exact employment of the whole force varied with the ground, but on normal ground, and Alexander could usually choose his positions, the left wing at first merely held firm, and the centre was a solid pivot for the right wing, which charged down upon the "shield-side" of the enemy's troops and often even drove them on to the pikes of the phalanx in the centre and the thrusting spears of

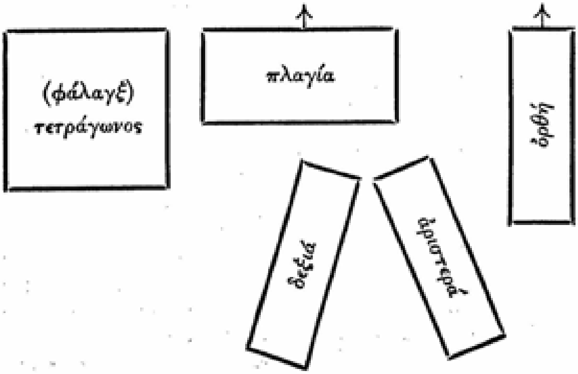
the cavalry on the left. The "phalanx" in the centre occupied and diverted the enemy, but would not usually advance far unless the customary swing from the right was somehow impeded, or became irregular.

Arrian's accounts of Alexander's tactics and descriptions of his troops are not, however, particularly clear, nor indeed does he use the same terms always in the same way. His usual technical terms, working downward, are *στρατός*, *στρατόπεδον*, and *φάλαγξ*, which should mean a part of the army, namely, that part of the infantry which was armed with long spears, but sometimes seems to be used for the army itself; the subdivisions of the *φάλαγξ* are *τάξεις*, a word also used sometimes technically, sometimes not. These *τάξεις* were probably enrolled on a territorial basis. The word *ἑταῖροι* is especially troublesome. Often it apparently has no special significance; it is used, as in the compound just quoted, as we use "territorials," *i.e.* troops acquainted with one another, comrades, members of the same district. But some of these troops (who were indeed practically the whole of the true-born Macedonian forces) were attached to Alexander's person as part of his bodyguard. Whether Arrian means us to understand "Companions (of Alexander)" when he so uses the word is not certain; but he uses *ἑταῖροι* as a sort of title, just as he does *ἑταῖροι* or *παῖδες βασιλικοί*, "Squires of the King," or perhaps "Sons of (Macedonian) nobles." Besides the *ἑταῖροι* proper, whether *πεζέταιροι* or *ἀσθέταιροι*, there were *πελτασταί*, a general term for light-armed troops (that is, troops with light defensive protection), and certain auxiliary troops denoted by their specific titles, but also *ξένοι* or mercenaries,

namely, Thessalians, Boeotians, and others, notably the Agrianes, who were capital mountaineers and skirmishers.

Now we come to a large force, partly of *ὑπασπισταί*, who formed Alexander's guards, and his actual bodyguard. Probably nearest to him were the "squires," who formed his staff. Next would come any specially selected *φύλακες*, and next (also, in the wider sense, *ἑταῖροι*) the *σωματοφύλακες*, called *τὸ ἄγημα τὸ βασιλικόν*, and probably the same as the *ἀργυράσπιδες*. But this quite large force of "bodyguards" and "guards" was not merely a protection for their courageous and even rash leader, but rather formed a special body of shock troops, easily and swiftly manœuvred, and ready for any sudden forced march or hazardous assault.

The manœuvring of the army is expressed thus. A phalanx is always rectangular, if not always a square. A diagram gives the technical terms;



The phalanx was not the rigid body it is often represented to be by historians. It could be elongated as shown above (the word is πλαγία) to an oblong, that is, a column in line, or narrowed (ὀρθή), when an enemy front was to be pierced.

When, however, flank attacks were expected the phalanx would be thrown into a long line (as at Gaugamela); the centre might be advanced; it was then two-fronted (right and left incline); or occasionally the line would be concave, not convex, if the phalanx was itself outflanking an enemy. Sometimes the phalanx was in wedge or arrow-head formation, ἔμβολος, but not, we must remember, a closed wedge. The closest possible order was συνασπισμός, "shield locked with shield."

Dr. Hogarth (*Philip and Alexander*) has a valuable passage on the Macedonian army, modifying certain views of his earlier pamphlet.

Aeneas Tacticus (and others), translated in this Library, will give some help, but must be used with caution. They do not exactly represent our period.

A Geographical Note.

Alexander's routes are for the most part easy to follow in any serious atlas. It is not always so easy to see why he chose his routes.

Great interest has been recently aroused by Sir Aurel Stein's publication (in *The Geographical Journal* for November and December, 1927, and in his work *On Alexander's Track to the Indus*, Macmillan, 1929) of his discovery of the site of Aornos, which he places on the ridge of Pir-s'ar, situated in the bend of the Indus, westward of its course, that is, on the right

bank, due north of Gunangar and east by north of Chakdara.

The ridge fits Arrian's description well, save that (to a mere reader, who has not seen it) it would not appear capable of supporting the population which Arrian ascribes to it.

But a graver question is whether Arrian's description is necessarily precise. The diversion so far up the Indus appears unnecessary; and one may be rather inclined to suspect that Alexander went northward feeling his way for some valley or pass which he did not discover; was held up by some militant tribe, which manned its Acropolis, and took a good deal longer to "smoke out" than Alexander had expected. He returns southward, and his literary followers have to excuse both the diversion and the check by inventing particular reasons why Alexander should have desired to storm this particular rock.

Perhaps all we can say is that, of Arrian is precise, Sir Aurel Stein is almost certainly accurate in his choice of the site.

ARRIAN

ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER

BOOK I

ΑΡΡΙΑΝΟΥ

ΑΝΑΒΑΣΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ

[ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ.]

Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος ὁ
Ἀριστοβούλου ὅσα μὲν ταὐτὰ ἄμφω περὶ
Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου ξυνέγραψαν, ταῦτα
ἐγὼ ὡς πάντῃ ἀληθῆ ἀναγράφω, ὅσα δὲ οὐ
ταὐτά, τούτων τὰ πιστότερα ἐμοὶ φαινόμενα καὶ
2 ἅμα ἀξιαφηγητότερα ἐπιλεξάμενος. Ἄλλοι μὲν
δὴ ἄλλα ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀνέγραψαν, οὐδ'
ἔστιν ὑπὲρ ὅτου πλείονες ἢ ἀξυμφωνότεροι ἐς
ἀλλήλους· ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ Πτολεμαῖός τε καὶ Ἀριστό-
βουλος πιστότεροι ἔδοξαν ἐς τὴν ἀφήγησιν, ὁ
μὲν ὅτι συνεστράτευσε βασιλεῖ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ,
Ἀριστόβουλος· Πτολεμαῖος δὲ πρὸς τῷ ξυστρα-
τεῦσαι ὅτι καὶ αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ ὄντι αἰσχρότερον
ἢ τῳ ἄλλῳ ψεύσασθαι ἦν. ἄμφω δέ, ὅτι τετε-
λευτηκότος ἤδη Ἀλεξάνδρου ξυγγράφουσιν αὐτοῖς
ἥ τε ἀνάγκη καὶ ὁ μισθὸς τοῦ ἄλλως τι ἢ ὡς
3 συνηνέχθη ξυγγράψαι ἀπῆν. Ἔστι δὲ ἃ καὶ
πρὸς ἄλλων ξυγγεγραμμένα, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὰ
ἀξιαφήγητά τέ μοι ἔδοξε καὶ οὐ πάντῃ ἄπιστα,
ὡς λεγόμενα μόνον ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀνέγραψα.

ARRIAN

ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER

BOOK I

[PREFACE.

WHEREVER Ptolemy son of Lagus and Aristobulus son of Aristobulus have agreed in their histories of Alexander son of Philip, I record their story as quite accurate; where they disagree I have chosen what I feel to be more likely and also better worth the narrating. Others have given various accounts of Alexander, in fact there is no one over whom historians have been more numerous and less harmonious. My own view is that Ptolemy and Aristobulus are more trustworthy narrators, for Aristobulus took the field with King Alexander; Ptolemy not only did the same, but, as he was a king himself, falsehood would have been more shameful to him than to anyone else. Besides, since Alexander was dead when they both wrote their histories, there lay on them neither any constraint nor any hope of gain in writing other than plain fact. Parts, however, of the records of others, such as appeared to me worthy of narration and not wholly untrustworthy, I have included as so much tradition about Alexander. Should anyone be sur-

Ὅστις δὲ θαυμάσεται ἀνθ' ὅτου ἐπὶ τοσοῖσδε συγγραφεῦσι καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐπὶ νοῦν ἦλθεν ἥδε ἡ συγγραφή, τά τ' ἐκείνων πάντα τις ἀναλεξάμενος καὶ τοῖσδε τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐντυχὼν οὕτω θαυμαζέτω.

I. Λέγεται δὴ Φίλιππον τελευτῆσαι ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Πυθοδήμου Ἀθήνησι· παραλαβόντα δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀλέξανδρον, παῖδα ὄντα Φιλίππου, ἐς Πελοπόννησον παρελθεῖν· εἶναι δὲ τότε
2 ἀμφὶ τὰ εἴκοσιν ἔτη Ἀλέξανδρον. Ἐνταῦθα ξυναγαγόντα τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὅσοι ἐντὸς Πελοποννήσου ἦσαν, αἰτεῖν παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας στρατιᾶς, ἥντινα Φιλίππῳ ἤδη ἔδοσαν· καὶ αἰτήσαντα λαβεῖν παρ' ἑκάστων πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων· Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι μὴ εἶναί σφισι πάτριον ἀκολουθεῖν
3 ἄλλοις, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἄλλων ἐξηγεῖσθαι. Νεωτερίσαι δὲ ἄττα καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὴν πόλιν· ἀλλὰ Ἀθηναίους γε τῇ πρώτῃ ἐφόδῳ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐκπλαγέντας καὶ πλείονα ἔτι τῶν Φιλίππῳ δοθέντων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ εἰς τιμὴν ξυγχωρῆσαι. Ἐπανελθόντα δὲ ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶναι τοῦ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν στόλου.

4 Ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἦρι ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης, ἐς Τριβαλλοὺς καὶ Ἰλλυριούς, ὅτι τε νεωτερίζειν ἐπύθετο Ἰλλυριούς τε καὶ Τριβαλλούς, καὶ ἅμα ὁμόρους ὄντας οὐκ ἐδόκει ὑπολείπεσθαι ὅτι μὴ πάντῃ ταπεινωθέντας οὕτω μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς
5 οἰκείας στελλόμενον. Ὁρμηθέντα δὴ ἐξ Ἀμφιπόλεως ἐμβαλεῖν ἐς Θρᾴκην τὴν τῶν αὐτονόμων καλουμένων Θρᾳκῶν, Φιλίππους πόλιν ἐν

prised, when there is such abundance of writers, that it should have occurred to me also to compose this history, I beg him to reserve his surprise till he has first surveyed their work and made the acquaintance of mine.

I. The death of Philip is placed in the archonship of Pythodemus at Athens; Alexander, then about twenty, succeeded, being Philip's son, and came into the Peloponnesus; so runs the story. There he gathered together the Peloponnesian Greeks and requested from them the leadership of the Persian expedition, which they had already granted to Philip. All agreed except the Lacedaemonians, who replied that their country's custom did not permit them to follow others; it was theirs to take the lead of others. The Athenians also made some show of violence; but they collapsed at Alexander's first approach and conceded to him a position even more honourable than had been given to Philip. Alexander then returned to Macedonia and began to get ready for the Asian expedition.

In the spring he went Thracewards, to the Triballi and Illyrians, since he learned that they were restless: moreover, as they marched with his borders, he did not think well to leave them behind him, when going on an expedition so far from home, unless they were thoroughly subdued. Starting from Amphipolis, he invaded Thrace, that is, the territory of the independent Thracians, with Philippi

ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντα καὶ τὸν Ὄρβηλον τὸ ὄρος. Διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Νέσσον ποταμὸν λέγουσιν ὅτι
6 δεκαταῖος ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸν Αἷμον. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀπήντων αὐτῷ κατὰ τὰ στενὰ τῆς ἀνόδου τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τῶν τε ἐμπόρων[1] πολλοὶ ὡπλισμένοι καὶ οἱ Θρᾷκες οἱ αὐτόνομοι, παρεσκευασμένοι εἴργειν τοῦ πρόσω κατειληφότες τὴν ἄκραν τοῦ Αἵμου τὸν στόλον, παρ' ὃν ἦν τῷ
7 στρατεύματι ἡ πάροδος. Ξυναγαγόντες δὲ ἁμάξας καὶ προβαλόμενοι πρὸ σφῶν ἅμα μὲν χάρακι ἐχρῶντο ταῖς ἁμάξαις εἰς τὸ ἀπομάχεσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν, εἰ βιάζοιντο, ἅμα δὲ ἐν νῷ εἶχον ἐπαφιέναι ἀνιοῦσιν ᾗ ἀποτομώτατον τοῦ ὄρους ἐπὶ τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν Μακεδόνων τὰς ἁμάξας. Γνώμην δὲ πεποίηντο ὅτι ὅσῳ πυκνοτέρᾳ τῇ φάλαγγι καταφερόμεναι συμμίξουσιν αἱ ἅμαξαι, τοσῷδε μᾶλλόν τι διασκεδάσουσιν αὐτὴν βίᾳ ἐμπεσοῦσαι.

8 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ βουλὴ γίγνεται ὅπως ἀσφαλέστατα ὑπερβάλῃ τὸ ὄρος· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐδόκει διακινδυνευτέα (οὐ γὰρ εἶναι ἄλλῃ τὴν πάροδον), παραγγέλλει τοῖς ὁπλίταις, ὁπότε καταφέροιντο κατὰ τοῦ ὀρθίου αἱ ἅμαξαι, ὅσοις μὲν ὁδὸς πλατεῖα οὖσα παρέχοι λῦσαι τὴν τάξιν, τούτους δὲ διαχωρῆσαι, ὡς δι' αὐτῶν ἐκπεσεῖν τὰς ἁμάξας·
9 ὅσοι δὲ περικαταλαμβάνοιντο, ξυννεύσαντας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ πεσόντας ἐς γῆν συγκλεῖσαι ἐς ἀκριβὲς τὰς ἀσπίδας, τοῦ κατ' αὐτῶν φερομένας τὰς ἁμάξας καὶ τῇ ῥύμῃ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ὑπερπη-

[1] ἐμπόρων (Codd.) may be correct, since the "carts" below suggest an armed caravan. ὁμόρων Krüger, but ἐνορίων is rather nearer.

and Mount Orbelus on his left. Then—so the historians tell us—he crossed the river Nessus and in ten days reached Mount Haemus, where there met him in the defile of the approach to the mountain many of the merchants in arms and the independent Thracians; they had occupied the height of Haemus, and were all ready to bar the progress of the expedition, which must needs pass the height. Collecting carts, and throwing them in advance, they proposed to use the carts as a stockade from which to put up a defence, if they were pressed; but it was also part of their strategy to launch the carts at the Macedonian phalanx as the troops mounted the slope just where the mountain was most sheer. Their idea was that the closer the phalanx when the descending carts charged it, the more their violent descent would scatter it.

Alexander, however, consulted how he could most safely cross the ridge; and since he saw that the risk must be run, for there was no way round, he sent orders to his men-at-arms that at whatsoever time the carts swooped down the slope upon them, those who, being on level ground, could break formation, were to part to right and left, leaving an avenue for the carts; those who should be caught in the narrows were to form close together; and some actually falling to the ground were to link their shields closely together so that the carts coming at them and (as was to be hoped) bounding over them by their gathered impetus should pass

δώσας ἀβλαβῶς ἐπελθεῖν. Καὶ οὕτω ξυνέβη
ὅπως παρῄνεσέ τε Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ εἴκασεν.
10 Οἱ μὲν γὰρ διέσχον τὴν φάλαγγα, αἱ δ' ὑπὲρ
τῶν ἀσπίδων ἐπικυλισθεῖσαι ὀλίγα ἔβλαψαν·
ἀπέθανε δὲ οὐδεὶς ὑπὸ ταῖς ἁμάξαις. Ἔνθα δὴ
οἱ Μακεδόνες θαρσήσαντες ὅτι ἀβλαβεῖς αὐτοῖς,
ἃς μάλιστα ἐδεδίεσαν, αἱ ἅμαξαι ἐγένοντο, σὺν
11 βοῇ ἐς τοὺς Θρᾷκας ἐνέβαλον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ
τοὺς τοξότας μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως πρὸ τῆς
ἄλλης φάλαγγος, ὅτι ταύτῃ εὐπορώτερα ἦν,
ἐλθεῖν ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἐκτοξεύειν ἐς τοὺς Θρᾷκας
ὅπῃ προσφέροιντο· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τὸ ἄγημα
καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας κατὰ
12 τὸ εὐώνυμον ἦγεν. Ἔνθα δὴ οἱ τοξόται βάλλοντες
τοὺς προεκθέοντας τῶν Θρᾳκῶν ἀνέστελλον· καὶ ἡ
φάλαγξ προσμίξασα οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐξέωσεν ἐκ τῆς
χώρας ἀνθρώπους ψιλοὺς καὶ κακῶς ὡπλισμένους
βαρβάρους, ὥστε Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐωνύμου
ἐπάγοντα οὐκέτι ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ ῥίψαντες ὡς
ἑκάστοις προὐχώρει τὰ ὅπλα κατὰ τοῦ ὄρους
13 ἔφυγον. Καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς χιλίους καὶ
πεντακοσίους, ζῶντες δὲ ἄνδρες μὲν ὀλίγοι
ἐλήφθησαν δι' ὠκύτητα καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐμπειρίαν,
γυναῖκες δὲ ὅσαι ξυνείποντο αὐτοῖς ἑάλωσαν
πᾶσαι, καὶ τὰ παιδάρια καὶ ἡ λεία πᾶσα
ἑάλω.

II. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὴν μὲν λείαν ὀπίσω ἀπέπεμψεν ἐς τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ, Λυσανίᾳ καὶ Φιλώτᾳ παραδοὺς διατίθεσθαι· αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ ἄκρον ὑπερβαλὼν προῄει διὰ τοῦ Αἵμου ἐς Τριβαλλούς, καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ τὸν Λύγινον ποταμόν· ἀπέχει δὲ οὗτος ἀπὸ τοῦ

through without doing harm. And thus it happened, according to Alexander's orders and anticipation. The one lot parted their phalanx, and the carts sliding over the shields of the others did little harm; not one man perished beneath the carts. The Macedonians now took heart of grace, finding that those most dreaded chariots proved harmless, and raising their cheer charged the Thracians. Alexander sent for the archers from the right wing to the front of the other phalanx—this being the more convenient side—to shoot thence at the Thracians whenever they attacked. He himself took the shock-troops, the Foot Guards, and the Agrianes, and led them to the left, where the archers by their volleys held up any advances of the Thracians, and the phalanx had no grave difficulty, coming to close quarters, in driving from their position the lightly clad and ill-armed highlanders; who, in fact, did not await Alexander leading on his men from the left, but casting away their arms helter-skelter fled down the mountain-side. Fifteen hundred perished; few were captured alive, by reason of their speed and their local knowledge; the women, however, who had followed them were all taken, with the children, and all their impedimenta.

II. Alexander sent the booty to the rear, to the cities on the coast, appointing Lysanias and Philotas to deal with it; then himself crossing the ridge he marched through Haemus to the Triballians, and so arrived at the River Lyginus; as you approach

Ἴστρον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Αἷμον ἰόντι σταθμοὺς τρεῖς.
2 Σύρμος δὲ ὁ τῶν Τριβαλλῶν βασιλεύς, ἐκ πολλοῦ πυνθανόμενος τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν στόλον, γυναῖκας μὲν καὶ παῖδας τῶν Τριβαλλῶν προὔπεμψεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴστρον, διαβαίνειν κελεύσας τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς νῆσόν τινα τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἴστρῳ· Πεύκη
3 ὄνομα τῇ νήσῳ ἐστίν. Ἐς ταύτην δὲ τὴν νῆσον καὶ οἱ Θρᾷκες οἱ πρόσχωροι τοῖς Τριβαλλοῖς προσάγοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου συμπεφευγότες ἦσαν, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Σύρμος ἐς ταύτην ξυμπεφεύγει ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτόν· τὸ δὲ πολὺ πλῆθος τῶν Τριβαλλῶν ἔφυγεν ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν, ἔνθενπερ τῇ προτεραίᾳ ὡρμήθη Ἀλέξανδρος.

4 Ὡς δὲ ἔμαθεν αὐτῶν τὴν ὁρμήν, καὶ αὐτὸς ὑποστρέψας τὸ ἔμπαλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Τριβαλλοὺς ἦγε, καὶ καταλαμβάνει καταστρατοπεδεύοντας ἤδη. Καὶ οἱ μέν, καταληφθέντες πρὸς τῷ νάπει τῷ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν παρετάσσοντο· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα ἐς βάθος ἐκτάξας ἐπῆγε, τοὺς τοξότας δὲ καὶ τοὺς σφενδονήτας προεκθέοντας ἐκέλευσεν ἐκτοξεύειν τε καὶ σφενδονᾶν ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, εἴ πως προκαλέσεται αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰ ψιλὰ ἐκ τοῦ νάπους.
5 Οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐντὸς βέλους ἐγένοντο, παιόμενοι ἐξέθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς τοξότας, ὅπως ἐς χεῖρας ξυμμίξειαν γυμνοῖς οὖσι τοῖς τοξόταις. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς προήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς νάπης ἔξω, Φιλώταν μὲν ἀναλαβόντα τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἄνωθεν Μακεδονίας ἱππέας προσέταξεν ἐμβάλλειν κατὰ τὸ κέρας τὸ δεξιόν, ᾗπερ μάλιστα προὐκεχωρήκεσαν ἐν τῇ ἐκδρομῇ· Ἡρακλείδην δὲ καὶ Σώπολιν τοὺς ἐκ Βοττιαίας τε καὶ Ἀμφιπόλεως ἱππέας κατὰ τὸ

Haemus, it is three days' march from the Ister. Syrmus, King of the Triballians, learning some time before of Alexander's march, sent on the women and children to the Ister, ordering them to cross to an island in the river called Peuce. To this island the Thracians who are neighbours to the Triballians had fled on Alexander's approach, and Syrmus and his suite also; but the mass of the Triballians fled back to the river whence Alexander had started out the day before.

Hearing of their move, Alexander turned back to attack the Triballians, and found them already encamping. They, caught as they were, formed line near the glen by the river; but Alexander in person, throwing his phalanx into deep formation, led it against them, ordering the bowmen and slingers to skirmish ahead and discharge their arrows and stones upon the tribesmen, to see if he could entice them into the open from the glen. They, when in range, receiving these volleys, rushed forward upon the bowmen to come to grips with them, being unarmed as bowmen are. But Alexander having brought them out of the glen ordered Philotas to take the cavalry of upper Macedonia and charge their right wing, where they had advanced farthest in their outward rush. Heracleides and Sopolis he ordered to lead the cavalry from Bottiaea

6 εὐώνυμον κέρας ἐπάγειν ἔταξε. Τὴν δὲ φάλαγγα τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἵππον πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγος παρατείνας κατὰ μέσους ἐπῆγε. Καὶ ἔστε μὲν ἀκροβολισμὸς παρ' ἑκατέρων ἦν, οἱ Τριβαλλοὶ οὐ μεῖον εἶχον· ὡς δὲ ἥ τε φάλαγξ πυκνὴ ἐνέβαλλεν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐρρωμένως, καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς οὐκ ἀκοντισμῷ ἔτι, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἵπποις ὠθοῦντες ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ προσέπιπτον, τότε δὴ ἐτράπησαν διὰ τοῦ νάπους ἐς τὸν πο-
7 ταμόν. Καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι μὲν τρισχίλιοι ἐν τῇ φυγῇ, ζῶντες δὲ ὀλίγοι καὶ τούτων ἐλήφθησαν, ὅτι ὕλη τε δασεῖα πρὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἦν καὶ νὺξ ἐπιγενομένη τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῆς διώξεως ἀφείλετο τοὺς Μακεδόνας. Αὐτῶν δὲ Μακεδόνων τελευτῆσαι λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ἱππέας μὲν ἕνδεκα, πεζοὺς δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς τεσσαράκοντα.

III. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης τριταῖος ἀφικνεῖται Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ἴστρον, ποταμῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην μέγιστον ὄντα καὶ πλείστην γῆν ἐπερχόμενον καὶ ἔθνη μαχιμώτατα ἀπείργοντα, τὰ μὲν πολλὰ Κελτικά, ὅθεν γε καὶ αἱ πηγαὶ αὐτῷ ἀνίσχουσιν, ὧν τελευταίους
2 Κουάδους καὶ Μαρκομάνους· ἐπὶ δὲ Σαυροματῶν μοῖραν, Ἰάζυγας· ἐπὶ δὲ Γέτας τοὺς ἀπαθανατίζοντας· ἐπὶ δὲ Σαυρομάτας τοὺς πολλούς· ἐπὶ δὲ Σκύθας ἔστε ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκβολάς, ἵνα ἐκδιδοῖ κατὰ πέντε στόματα ἐς τὸν Εὔξεινον
3 πόντον. Ἐνταῦθα καταλαμβάνει αὐτῷ ἡκούσας ναῦς μακρὰς ἐκ Βυζαντίου διὰ τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου κατὰ τὸν ποταμόν. Ταύτας ἐμπλήσας τοξοτῶν τε καὶ ὁπλιτῶν, τῇ νήσῳ ἐπέπλει ἵνα οἱ Τριβαλλοί τε καὶ οἱ Θρᾷκες ξυμπεφευγότες

and Amphipolis against the left wing. The foot phalanx, and the remaining cavalry, which he deployed in advance of the phalanx, he led against the centre. While the battle was still at long range, the Triballians held firm, but when the phalanx in close formation charged them stoutly and the cavalry, no longer shooting, but actually thrusting them with their horses, fell on them here, there and everywhere, the enemy turned and rushed through the glen to the river. Three thousand perished in the flight, but only a few were caught alive, owing to the density of the wood which lay in front of the river, and because nightfall prevented the Macedonians from any thorough pursuit. Of the Macedonians, according to Ptolemy, eleven cavalry-men and about forty foot-soldiers perished.

III. Three days after the battle Alexander reached the Ister, the greatest river of Europe, draining the greatest tract of country and acting as a barrier to very warlike tribes, Celts for the most part—its springs rising in Celtic territory; the farthest of these peoples are the Quadi and Marcomanni; then it passes the Iazuges, a branch of the Sauromatae; the Getae, who call themselves immortals; the bulk of the Sauromatae; and the Scythians as far as the outlets, where through five mouths it runs into the Black Sea. There Alexander finds at the mouth of the river warships come to join him from Byzantium through the Black Sea. These he manned with archers and men-at-arms and sailed against the island where the Triballians and Thracians

ἦσαν, καὶ ἐπειρᾶτο βιάζεσθαι τὴν ἀπόβασιν.
4 Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἀπήντων ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ὅποι[1] αἱ νῆες προσπίπτοιεν· αἱ δὲ ὀλίγαι τε ἦσαν καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ οὐ πολλὴ ἡ[2] ἐπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τῆς νήσου τὰ πολλὰ ἀπότομα ἐς προσβολήν, καὶ τὸ ῥεῦμα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ παρ' αὐτήν, οἷα δὴ ἐς στενὸν συγκεκλεισμένον, ὀξὺ καὶ ἄπορον προσφέρεσθαι.

5 Ἔνθα δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπαγαγὼν τὰς ναῦς ἔγνω διαβαίνειν τὸν Ἴστρον ἐπὶ τοὺς Γέτας τοὺς πέραν τοῦ Ἴστρου ᾠκισμένους, ὅτι τε συνειλεγμένους ἑώρα πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ Ἴστρου, ὡς εἴρξοντας, εἰ διαβαίνοι (ἦσαν γὰρ ἱππεῖς μὲν ἐς τετρακισχιλίους, πεζοὶ δὲ πλείους τῶν μυρίων), καὶ ἅμα πόθος ἔλαβεν αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα τοῦ
6 Ἴστρου ἐλθεῖν. Τῶν μὲν δὴ νεῶν ἐπέβη αὐτός· τὰς δὲ διφθέρας ὑφ' αἷς ἐσκήνουν τῆς κάρφης πληρώσας, καὶ ὅσα μονόξυλα πλοῖα ἐκ τῆς χώρας ξυναγαγών (ἦν δὲ καὶ τούτων εὐπορία πολλή, ὅτι τούτοις χρῶνται οἱ πρόσοικοι τῷ Ἴστρῳ ἐφ' ἁλιείᾳ τε τῇ ἐκ τοῦ Ἴστρου, καὶ εἴποτε παρ' ἀλλήλους ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμὸν στέλλοιντο, καὶ ληστεύοντες ἀπ' αὐτῶν οἱ πολλοί) ταῦτα ὡς πλεῖστα ξυναγαγὼν διεβίβαζεν ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῆς στρατιᾶς ὅσους δυνατὸν ἦν ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε τρόπῳ. Καὶ γίγνονται οἱ διαβάντες ἅμα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἱππεῖς μὲν ἐς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους, πεζοὶ δὲ ἐς τετρακισχιλίους.

IV. Διέβαλον δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ᾗ λήϊον ἦν σίτου βαθύ· καὶ ταύτῃ μᾶλλόν τι ἔλαθον προσσχόντες τῇ ὄχθῃ. Ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἕω Ἀλέξανδρος διὰ τοῦ ληΐου ἦγε, παραγγείλας τοῖς πεζοῖς, πλαγίαις

[1] ὅπῃ A, text K; cf. v. 17. 4. [2] ἡ add. Krüger.

had taken refuge, and endeavoured to force a landing. The tribesmen, however, kept swooping down to the river-side wherever the ships touched land; these were few in number, and carrying only a small body of troops; the island was for the most part steep for landing; and the current past the island, as was natural in the narrows, was swift and difficult to contend with.

Thereupon Alexander withdrew his troops and decided to cross the Ister to attack the Getae who were settled on the farther side, both because he saw a large force of them gathered on the bank, to repel him, should he cross—there were about four thousand mounted men, and more than ten thousand on foot—and also because he had been seized with a desire to land on the farther side. He himself embarked in the fleet; the leather tent covers he had filled with the hay, and gathering all the available boats, cut from single trees, from the countryside (there were plenty, for the river-side dwellers use them for fishing, for up-river expeditions among themselves, and even more for thieving), he ferried across on these as much of his force as was possible. About fifteen hundred cavalry and four thousand foot-soldiers crossed with him.

IV. The crossing was made at night where there was a deep cornfield, and this concealed them the more, as they kept close to the bank. About dawn, Alexander led the troops through the field, ordering

ταῖς σαρίσσαις ἐπικλίνοντας τὸν σῖτον οὕτω
2 προάγειν ἐς τὰ οὐκ ἐργάσιμα. Οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς, ἔστε μὲν διὰ τοῦ λῃίου προῄει ἡ φάλαγξ, ἐφείποντο· ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐργασίμων ἐξήλασαν, τὴν μὲν ἵππον ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος παρήγαγε, τὴν φάλαγγα δὲ ἐν πλαισίῳ Νικά-
3 νορα ἄγειν ἐκέλευσεν. Καὶ οἱ Γέται οὐδὲ τὴν πρώτην ἐμβολὴν τῶν ἱππέων ἐδέξαντο· παράδοξος μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ τόλμα ἐφάνη τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὅτι εὐμαρῶς οὕτω τὸν μέγιστον τῶν ποταμῶν διεβεβήκει ἐν μιᾷ νυκτὶ τὸν Ἴστρον, οὐ γεφυρώσας τὸν πόρον, φοβερὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος ἡ ξύγκλεισις, βιαία δὲ ἡ τῶν
4 ἱππέων ἐμβολή. Καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐς τὴν πόλιν καταφεύγουσιν, ἣ δὴ ἀπεῖχεν αὐτοῖς ὅσον παρασάγγην τοῦ Ἴστρου· ὡς δὲ ἐπάγοντα εἶδον σπουδῇ Ἀλέξανδρον τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν, ὡς μὴ κυκλωθεῖέν πη οἱ πεζοὶ ἐνεδρευσάντων τῶν Γετῶν, τοὺς ἱππέας δὲ κατὰ μέτωπον, λείπουσιν αὖ καὶ τὴν πόλιν οἱ Γέται κακῶς τετειχισμένην, ἀναλαβόντες τῶν παιδαρίων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ὅσα φέρειν οἱ ἵπποι ἠδύναντο· ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἡ ὁρμὴ ὡς πορρω-
5 τάτω ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐς τὰ ἔρημα. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τήν τε πόλιν λαμβάνει καὶ τὴν λείαν πᾶσαν ὅσην οἱ Γέται ὑπελίποντο. Καὶ τὴν μὲν λείαν Μελεάγρῳ καὶ Φιλίππῳ ἐπαναγαγεῖν δίδωσιν· αὐτὸς δὲ κατασκάψας τὴν πόλιν θύει τε ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ Ἴστρου Διὶ Σωτῆρι καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Ἴστρῳ, ὅτι οὐκ ἄπορος αὐτῷ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐπανάγει αὐτῆς ἡμέρας σώους σύμπαντας ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον.

the infantry to smooth down the corn with their spears, held obliquely, and so lead the way to untilled ground. As long as the phalanx was marching through the corn the cavalry followed; but when they emerged from the tilled land, Alexander in person took off the cavalry to the right wing, ordering Nicanor to lead off the phalanx in oblong formation.[1] The Getae did not sustain even the first charge of the cavalry; for Alexander's bold stroke came as a great shock to them, in that he so easily crossed the Ister, greatest of rivers, in one night without so much as bridging the stream; the solidity of the phalanx was terrifying, and the onslaught of the cavalry violent. First the enemy took refuge in the city, about a parasang away from the Ister; then, seeing Alexander bring up his phalanx along the river, that the infantry might not be caught by any ambush of the Getae, with the cavalry on the front, the enemy deserted in turn their city, which was feebly fortified, taking up on their cruppers as many of the women and children as the horses could carry; and then marched as far as possible away from the river towards the desert. Alexander captured the city and whatever plunder the Getae had left behind. This plunder he ordered Meleager and Philip to take to the base; he razed the city and sacrificed on the bank of the Ister to Zeus the Preserver and Heracles and Ister himself, for permitting the passage. Then in daylight he took all his force safe and sound back to the camp.

[1] On open ground the various units formed squares, and the whole phalanx moved κατὰ κέρας, in rectangular shape, broader than it was deep. See Introductory Note.

6 Ἐνταῦθα ἀφίκοντο πρέσβεις ὡς Ἀλέξανδρον παρά τε τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα αὐτόνομα ἔθνη προσοικεῖ τῷ Ἴστρῳ, καὶ παρὰ Σύρμου τοῦ Τριβαλλῶν βασιλέως· καὶ παρὰ Κελτῶν δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ ᾠκισμένων ἧκον· μεγάλοι οἱ Κελτοὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ μέγα ἐπὶ σφίσι φρονοῦντες· φιλίας δὲ πάντες τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐφιέ-
7 μενοι ἥκειν ἔφασαν. Καὶ πᾶσιν ἔδωκε πίστεις Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἔλαβε· τοὺς Κελτοὺς δὲ καὶ ἤρετο ὅ τι μάλιστα δεδίττεται αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, ἐλπίσας ὅτι μέγα ὄνομα τὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐς Κελτοὺς καὶ ἔτι προσωτέρω ἥκει, καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸν μάλιστα πάντων δεδιέναι φήσουσι· τῷ δὲ παρ' ἐλπίδα ξυνέβη τῶν Κελτῶν ἡ ἀπόκρισις·
8 οἷα γὰρ πόρρω τε ᾠκισμένοι Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ χωρία δύσπορα οἰκοῦντες, καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐς ἄλλα τὴν ὁρμὴν ὁρῶντες, ἔφασαν δεδιέναι μήποτε ὁ οὐρανὸς αὐτοῖς ἐμπέσοι. Καὶ τούτους φίλους τε ὀνομάσας καὶ ξυμμάχους ποιησάμενος ὀπίσω ἀπέπεμψε, τοσοῦτον ὑπειπὼν ὅτι ἀλαζόνες Κελτοί εἰσιν.

V. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπ' Ἀγριάνων καὶ Παιόνων προὐχώρει. Ἔνθα δὴ ἄγγελοι ἀφίκοντο αὐτῷ Κλεῖτόν τε τὸν Βαρδύλεω ἀφεστάναι ἀγγέλλοντες καὶ Γλαυκίαν προσκεχωρηκέναι αὐτῷ τὸν Ταυλαντίων βασιλέα· οἱ δὲ καὶ τοὺς Αὐταριάτας ἐπιθήσεσθαι αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν πορείαν ἐξήγγελλον· ὧν δὴ ἕνεκα κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐδόκει ἀναζευγνύναι.
2 Λάγγαρος δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἀγριάνων βασιλεὺς ἔτι μὲν καὶ Φιλίππου ζῶντος ἀσπαζόμενος Ἀλέξανδρον δῆλος ἦν καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἐπρέσβευσε παρ' αὐτόν, τότε δὲ παρῆν αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν, ὅσους

At this juncture came commissioners to Alexander from the other self-governing tribes along the Ister and from Syrmus, King of the Triballi; others from the Celts settled on the Ionian gulf. The Celts were tall and haughty; but all professed desire for Alexander's friendship, and he gave to all, and received from all, proper assurances. Of the Celts he enquired what, of mortal things, they most dreaded, hoping that his own great name had reached as far as the Celts and farther, and that they would confess that they dreaded him beyond all else. Their answer, however, proved unexpected to him, for, living as they did in difficult country far from Alexander, and seeing that his invasion was really directed elsewhere, they said that their greatest dread was lest the sky should fall upon them. He declared them his friends, made alliance, and sent them home, casually remarking, "What braggarts these Celts are!"

V. He then went towards the Agrianes and the Paeones. There a message reached him that Cleitus son of Bardylis was in revolt, and that Glaucias, king of the Taulantians, had joined him. The messengers also told him that the Autariates were going to attack him on his march. For these reasons it was thought well to move off as soon as possible. Langaros, king of the Agrianes, was known to have shown regard for Alexander even in Philip's lifetime; he had also been on an embassy to him personally; on the present occasion he was in attendance on Alexander with his bodyguard, the

τε καλλίστους καὶ εὐοπλοτάτους ἀμφ' αὐτὸν
3 εἶχε· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθεν ὑπὲρ τῶν Αὐταριατῶν πυνθανόμενον Ἀλέξανδρον, οἵτινές τε καὶ ὁπόσοι εἶεν, οὐκ ἔφη χρῆναι ἐν λόγῳ τίθεσθαι Αὐταριάτας· εἶναι γὰρ ἀπολεμωτάτους τῶν ταύτῃ· καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν, ὡς ἀμφὶ τὰ σφέτερα μᾶλλόν τι ἔχοιεν. Καὶ κελεύσαντος Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐσβάλλει ἐς αὐτούς· καὶ ἐμβαλὼν ἦγε καὶ ἔφερε τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν.

4 Αὐταριᾶται μὲν δὴ ἀμφὶ τὰ αὑτῶν εἶχον· Λάγγαρος δὲ τά τε ἄλλα ἐτιμήθη μεγάλως πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ δῶρα ἔλαβεν ὅσα μέγιστα παρὰ βασιλεῖ τῷ Μακεδόνων νομίζεται· καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου Κύναν καὶ ταύτην ὡμολόγησε δώσειν αὐτῷ ἐς Πέλλαν ἀφικομένῳ Ἀλέξανδρος.

5 Ἀλλὰ Λάγγαρος μὲν ἐπανελθὼν οἴκαδε νόσῳ ἐτελεύτησεν· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ παρὰ τὸν Ἐριγόνα ποταμὸν πορευόμενος ἐς Πήλιον πόλιν ἐστέλλετο. Ταύτην γὰρ κατειλήφει ὁ Κλεῖτος ὡς ὀχυρωτάτην τῆς χώρας· καὶ πρὸς ταύτην ὡς ἧκεν Ἀλέξανδρος, καταστρατοπεδεύσας πρὸς τῷ Ἐορδαϊκῷ ποταμῷ, τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐγνώκει προσ-
6 βάλλειν τῷ τείχει. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Κλεῖτον τὰ κύκλῳ τῆς πόλεως ὄρη, ὑπερδέξιά τε ὄντα καὶ δασέα, κατεῖχον, ὡς πάντοθεν ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς Μακεδόσιν, εἰ τῇ πόλει προσβάλλοιεν· Γλαυκίας δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ τῶν Ταυλαντίων βασιλεὺς
7 οὔπω παρῆν. Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν δὴ τῇ πόλει προσῆγεν· οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι σφαγιασάμενοι παῖδας τρεῖς καὶ κόρας ἴσας τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ κριοὺς μέλανας τρεῖς, ὥρμηντο μὲν ὡς δεξόμενοι ἐς

finest and best-armed troops he had; and when he learnt that Alexander was enquiring who and in what numbers these Autariates were, he told Alexander that he need not trouble about them, they were the least warlike of the tribesmen in those parts; he would himself invade their country, so that they might rather be occupied with their own affairs. Alexander agreed, and he invaded them, devastating their country.

Thus the Autariates were busy with their own matters, Langaros receiving high honour from Alexander, and also what were considered at the court of Macedon the highest gifts. Alexander besides promised to wed his sister Cyna to him, when he came to Pella.

Langaros, however, after reaching home, sickened and died. Alexander, marching along the river Erigon, made for Pelium; this city Cleitus had taken, as being the strongest in the country. When Alexander reached it, he camped by the river Eordaicus and decided to assault next day. Cleitus' forces, however, held the heights surrounding the city, which were commanding and also thickly wooded, so that they could attack the Macedonians, if they made the assault, from all sides, Glaucias, king of the Taulantians, not yet being present. Alexander proceeded to the assault; on which the enemy sacrificed three boys and three girls and three black rams, and then made a rush to intercept

χεῖρας τοὺς Μακεδόνας· ὁμοῦ δὲ γενομένων
ἐξέλιπον καίτοι καρτερὰ ὄντα τὰ κατειλημμένα
πρὸς σφῶν χωρία, ὥστε καὶ τὰ σφάγια αὐτῶν
κατελήφθη ἔτι κείμενα.
8 Ταύτῃ μὲν δὴ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κατακλείσας αὐτοὺς
ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενος πρὸς τῷ
τείχει ἐγνώκει περιτειχισμῷ ἀποκλεῖσαι αὐτούς·
τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ παρῆν μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως
Γλαυκίας ὁ τῶν Ταυλαντίων βασιλεύς. Ἔνθα
δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἀπέγνω ἑλεῖν ἂν
ξὺν τῇ παρούσῃ δυνάμει, πολλῶν μὲν ἐς αὐτὴν
καὶ μαχίμων ξυμπεφευγότων, πολλῶν δὲ ἅμα
τῷ Γλαυκίᾳ προσκεισομένων, εἰ αὐτὸς τῷ τείχει
9 προσμάχοιτο, Φιλώταν δὲ ἀναλαβόντα τῶν
ἱππέων ὅσους ἐς προφυλακὴν καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια
τὰ ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐς ἐπισιτισμὸν ἔπεμπεν.
Καὶ ὁ Γλαυκίας μαθὼν τὴν ὁρμὴν τῶν ἀμφὶ
Φιλώταν ἐξελαύνει ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς, καὶ καταλαμβάνει
τὰ κύκλῳ ὄρη τοῦ πεδίου, ὅθεν οἱ ξὺν Φιλώτᾳ
10 ἐπισιτιεῖσθαι ἔμελλον. Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ἐπειδὴ
ἀπηγγέλθη αὐτῷ ὅτι κινδυνεύουσιν οἵ τε ἱππεῖς
καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια, εἰ νὺξ αὐτοὺς καταλήψεται,
αὐτὸς μὲν ἀναλαβὼν τούς τε ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ
τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ ἱππέας ἐς
τετρακοσίους ἐβοήθει σπουδῇ· τὸ δὲ ἄλλο στρά-
τευμα πρὸς τῇ πόλει ἀπέλιπεν, ὡς μὴ ἀπο-
χωρήσαντος παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ οἱ ἐκ
τῆς πόλεως ἐπιδραμόντες τοῖς ἀμφὶ Γλαυκίαν
11 ξυμμίξειαν. Ἔνθα δὴ Γλαυκίας προσάγοντα
Ἀλέξανδρον αἰσθόμενος ἐκλείπει τὰ ὄρη· οἱ δὲ
ξὺν Φιλώτᾳ ἀσφαλῶς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον διεσώ-
θησαν. Ἐδόκουν δ᾽ ἔτι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν δυσ-

the Macedonian right wing; but when the Greeks drew near, they deserted the strong positions they had occupied, and the newly sacrificed victims were found still lying there.

On this day Alexander shut them up in their city and camped by the wall, intending to hem them in by a circumvallation; but next day Glaucias, king of the Taulantians, appeared with a large force. Thereupon Alexander gave up the idea of taking the city with such forces as he had; a good many bold warriors had ensconced themselves therein, and Glaucias' strong force would fall upon him, should he assault the wall. He sent Philotas, therefore, with so many horsemen as he needed as a screen, and all the baggage animals from the camp, to forage. Glaucias getting wind of this move of Philotas swooped down on his troops, and captured the heights which encircled the plain whence Philotas' troops proposed to obtain their forage. Alexander, however, when it was reported to him that both the cavalry and the baggage animals were in grave danger, should night overtake them, took his bodyguard and archers and the Agrianes and four hundred horsemen and made at full speed to the rescue; the rest of the army he left near the city lest—if the whole force had withdrawn—the enemy in the city might have sallied out and joined forces with Glaucias. Glaucias, on seeing Alexander's approach, deserted the heights, and Philotas and his convoy got safe back to the camp. Even so Cleitus and Glaucias

χωρία ἀπειληφέναι οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Κλεῖτον καὶ Γλαυκίαν· τά τε γὰρ ὄρη τὰ ὑπερδέξια κατεῖχον πολλοῖς μὲν ἱππεῦσι, πολλοῖς δὲ ἀκοντισταῖς καὶ σφενδονήταις, καὶ ὁπλίταις δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγοις, καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει κατειλημμένοι προσκείσεσθαι ἀπαλ-
12 λαττομένοις ἔμελλον· τά τε χωρία δι' ὧν ἡ πάροδος ἦν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ στενὰ καὶ ὑλώδη ἐφαίνετο, τῇ μὲν πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπειργόμενα, τῇ δὲ ὄρος ὑπερύψηλον ἦν καὶ κρημνοὶ πρὸς τοῦ ὄρους, ὥστε οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τεσσάρων ἀσπίδων ἂν τῷ στρατεύματι ἡ πάροδος ἐγένετο.

VI. Ἔνθα δὴ ἐκτάσσει τὸν στρατὸν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι τὸ βάθος τῆς φάλαγγος. Ἐπὶ τὸ κέρας δὲ ἑκατέρωθεν διακοσίους ἱππέας ἐπιτάξας παρήγγελλε σιγῇ ἔχειν,
2 τὸ παραγγελλόμενον ὀξέως δεχομένους. Καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐσήμηνεν ὀρθὰ ἀνατεῖναι τὰ δόρατα τοὺς ὁπλίτας, ἔπειτα ἀπὸ ξυνθήματος ἀποτεῖναι ἐς προβολήν, καὶ νῦν μὲν ἐς τὸ δεξιὸν ἐγκλῖναι τῶν δοράτων τὴν σύγκλεισιν, αὖθις δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερά. Καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν φάλαγγα ἔς τε πρόσω ὀξέως ἐκίνησε καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ κέρατα ἄλλοτε
3 ἄλλῃ παρήγαγε. Καὶ οὕτω πολλὰς τάξεις τάξας τε καὶ μετακοσμήσας ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον οἷον ἔμβολον ποιήσας τῆς φάλαγγος ἐπῆγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. Οἱ δὲ πάλαι μὲν ἐθαύμαζον τήν τε ὀξύτητα ὁρῶντες καὶ τὸν κόσμον τῶν δρωμένων· τότε δὲ προσάγοντας ἤδη τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ἀλέξανδρον οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ λείπουσι τοὺς
4 πρώτους λόφους. Ὁ δὲ καὶ ἐπαλαλάξαι ἐκέλευσε τοὺς Μακεδόνας καὶ τοῖς δόρασι δουπῆσαι πρὸς τὰς ἀσπίδας· οἱ δὲ Ταυλάντιοι ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκπλα-

with their troops appeared to have caught Alexander in a disadvantageous position; for they held the commanding heights with a good many horsemen, javelin-men, and slingers, and a fair number of men-at-arms, and the city forces were ready to attack Alexander as he drew off, while the ground through which Alexander must pass seemed narrow and marshy, bounded on the one side by the river, and on the other side was a lofty mountain and hill-crests towards the mountain, so that the army could only pass through four abreast.

VI. Alexander under the circumstances extended the front of his phalanx so as to give a depth of 120 files. On either wing he posted 200 horsemen, bidding them keep silent; a command they obeyed smartly; the men-at-arms he ordered first to raise their spears upright, and then, on the word, to lower them for a charge, inclining first to the right their serried points, then to the left; the phalanx itself he moved smartly forward, and then wheeled it here and there on either wing. Thus he displayed and manœuvred various formations in a brief time, and then making a spearhead from his phalanx on the left he led it to the attack. The enemy, already bewildered both at the smartness and the discipline of these manœuvres, did not await the approach of the Greeks, but deserted the first row of hills. Alexander bade the Macedonians raise their cheer and clang their spears upon their shields; and the

γέντες πρὸς τῆς βοῆς ὡς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐπανήγαγον σπουδῇ τὸν στρατόν.

5 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ λόφον τινὰς κατέχοντας ἰδὼν οὐ πολλοὺς τῶν πολεμίων, παρ᾽ ὃν αὐτῷ ἡ πάροδος ἐγίγνετο, παρήγγειλε τοῖς σωματοφύλαξι καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ᾽ αὐτὸν ἑταίροις, ἀναλαβόντας τὰς ἀσπίδας ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τὸν γήλοφον· ἐκεῖσε δὲ ἐλθόντας, εἰ ὑπομένοιεν οἱ κατειληφότες τὸ χωρίον, τοὺς ἡμίσεας καταπηδῆσαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων καὶ ἀναμιχ-
6 θέντας τοῖς ἱππεῦσι πεζοὺς μάχεσθαι. Οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἰδόντες λείπουσι τὸν γήλοφον καὶ παρεκκλίνουσιν ἐφ᾽ ἑκάτερα τῶν ὀρῶν. Ἔνθα δὴ καταλαβὼν Ἀλέξανδρος τὸν γήλοφον σὺν τοῖς ἑταίροις τούς τε Ἀγριᾶνας μεταπέμπεται καὶ τοὺς τοξότας, ὄντας ἐς δισχιλίους· τοὺς δὲ ὑπασπιστὰς διαβαίνειν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τὰς τάξεις τῶν Μακεδόνων· ὁπότε δὲ διαβάντες τύχοιεν, ἐπ᾽ ἀσπίδα ἐκτάσσεσθαι, ὡς πυκνὴν εὐθὺς διαβάντων φαίνεσθαι τὴν φάλαγγα· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν προφυλακῇ ὢν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου ἀφεώρα τῶν πολεμίων τὴν ὁρμήν.
7 Οἱ δέ, ὁρῶντες διαβαίνουσαν τὴν δύναμιν, κατὰ τὰ ὄρη ἀντεπῄεσαν, ὡς τοῖς μετὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπιθησόμενοι τελευταίοις ἀποχωροῦσιν. Ὁ δὲ πελαζόντων ἤδη αὐτὸς ἐκθεῖ σὺν τοῖς ἀμφ᾽ αὐτόν, καὶ ἡ φάλαγξ, ὡς διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπιοῦσα, ἐπηλάλαξεν· οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι πάντων ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐλαυνόντων ἐγκλίναντες ἔφευγον· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἐπῆγεν Ἀλέξανδρος τούς τε Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τοὺς
8 τοξότας δρόμῳ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν. Καὶ πρῶτος μὲν αὐτὸς φθάσας διαβαίνει· τοῖς τελευ-

Taulantians, even more astounded at the noise, hastily withdrew to the city.

Alexander saw some few of the enemy holding one of the hills, by which his passage lay, and ordered his bodyguards and his squires to take their shields, mount, and charge the hill; on reaching it, supposing those who held it should stand their ground, half were to dismount and, mingling with the cavalry, fight on foot. The enemy, observing this dash of Alexander's, deserted the hill and inclined towards either of the mountains. Alexander then captured the hill with his squires, sent for the Agrianes and the archers, to the number of two thousand; the guards he ordered to cross the river, and, following them, the columns of the Macedonian troops. As soon as they should be across they were to extend to the left,[1] so that the phalanx might appear solid the moment they had crossed. He, with the advance guard, kept an eye from the hill on the enemy's movement. They, seeing the force crossing, charged down the hill with the idea of attacking Alexander's bodyguard as they withdrew last. He, as they now approached, makes a sally with his troops, and the phalanx coming to the attack through the river raised its battle-cry; under this combined onslaught they broke and fled, whereupon Alexander brought up the Agrianes and the archers at the double in the direction of the river. He himself got over first,

[1] Literally, shield-wards, that is, to the left hand, as "spear-wards" was to the right hand.

ταίοις δὲ ὡς εἶδεν ἐπικειμένους τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐπιστήσας ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ τὰς μηχανὰς ἐξακοντίζειν ὡς πορρωτάτω ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσεν ὅσα ἀπὸ μηχανῶν βέλη ἐξακοντίζεται· καὶ τοὺς τοξότας δὲ ἐκ μέσου τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκτοξεύειν ἐπεσβάντας καὶ τούτους. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Γλαυκίαν εἴσω βέλους παρελθεῖν οὐκ ἐτόλμων· οἱ Μακεδόνες δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἀσφαλῶς ἐπέρασαν τὸν ποταμόν, ὥστε οὐδεὶς ἀπέθανεν ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει αὐτῶν.

9 Τρίτῃ δὲ ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνης ἡμέρᾳ καταμαθὼν Ἀλέξανδρος κακῶς αὐλιζομένους τοὺς ἀμφὶ Κλεῖτον καὶ Γλαυκίαν, καὶ οὔτε φυλακὰς ἐν τῇ τάξει αὐτοῖς φυλαττομένας οὔτε χάρακα ἢ τάφρον προβεβλημένους, οἷα δὴ ξὺν φόβῳ ἀπηλλάχθαι οἰομένων Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐς μῆκος δὲ οὐκ ὠφέλιμον ἀποτεταγμένην αὐτοῖς τὴν τάξιν, ὑπὸ νύκτα ἔτι λαθὼν διαβαίνει τὸν ποταμόν, τούς τε ὑπασπιστὰς ἅμα οἷ ἄγων καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τὴν Περδίκκου
10 καὶ Κοίνου τάξιν. Καὶ προστέτακτο μὲν ἀκολουθεῖν τὴν ἄλλην στρατιάν· ὡς δὲ καιρὸν εἶδεν εἰς ἐπίθεσιν, οὐ προσμείνας ὁμοῦ γενέσθαι πάντας, ἐφῆκε τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας· οἱ δὲ ἀπροσδόκητοί τε ἐπιπεσόντες καὶ φάλαγγι κατὰ κέρας, ᾗπερ ἀσθενεστάτοις αὐτοῖς καρτερωτάτῃ τῇ ἐμβολῇ προσμίξειν ἔμελλον, τοὺς μὲν ἔτι ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς κατέκτεινον, τοὺς δὲ φεύγοντας εὐμαρῶς αἱροῦντες, ὥστε πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐγκατελήφθησαν καὶ ἀπέθανον, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει ἀτάκτῳ καὶ φοβερᾷ γενομένῃ· οὐκ
11 ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ ζῶντες ἐλήφθησαν. Ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ

but seeing the enemy pressing on the hindmost, he set up his engines on the bank and ordered every kind of missile to be discharged from them at utmost range; what is more, he commanded the archers, in mid-river, to shoot volleys thence, they too having breasted the stream. Glaucias' troops did not venture within range; the Macedonians meanwhile crossed the river safely and lost not a man in the withdrawal.

Three days later Alexander learned that Cleitus and Glaucias' troops were carelessly bivouacked, no sentries set in due order, no palisade, no trench—for they thought that Alexander had retreated in panic—and their line unduly elongated; he crossed the river under cover of night with the guards, the Agrianes, the archers, and the troops of Perdiccas and Coenus. He had left orders for the rest of the army to follow, but seeing the time opportune for attack, he did not await the concentration, but sent on all the archers and the Agrianes; they made a surprise attack, and in column, a formation in which they were likely to make the strongest onslaught on the enemy just where he was weakest; they slew several as they slept, easily seized the fugitives, so that many were caught and killed there and then, and many also in their panic-stricken and headlong flight; a good number were taken alive. Alexander's

δίωξις τοῖς ἀμφὶ Ἀλέξανδρον μέχρι πρὸς τὰ ὄρη τῶν Ταυλαντίων· ὅσοι δὲ καὶ ἀπέφυγον αὐτῶν, γυμνοὶ τῶν ὅπλων διεσώθησαν. Κλεῖτος δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν τὸ πρῶτον καταφυγών, ἐμπρήσας τὴν πόλιν ἀπηλλάγη παρὰ Γλαυκίαν ἐς Ταυλαντίους.

VII. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν φυγάδων τινὲς τῶν ἐκ Θηβῶν φευγόντων νύκτωρ ἐς τὰς Θήβας παρελθόντες, ἐπαγομένων τινῶν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, Ἀμύνταν μὲν καὶ Τιμόλαον τῶν τὴν Καδμείαν ἐχόντων οὐδὲν ὑποτοπήσαντας πολέμιον
2 ἔξω τῆς Καδμείας ἀπέκτειναν ξυλλαβόντες· ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρελθόντες ἐπῆραν τοὺς Θηβαίους ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἐλευθερίαν τε[1] προϊσχόμενοι, παλαιὰ καὶ καλὰ ὀνόματα, καὶ τῆς βαρύτητος τῶν Μακεδόνων ἤδη ποτὲ ἀπαλλαγῆναι. Πιθανώτεροι δὲ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἐφαίνοντο, τεθνηκέναι Ἀλέξανδρον ἰσχυριζόμενοι ἐν
3 Ἰλλυριοῖς· καὶ γὰρ καὶ πολὺς ὁ λόγος οὗτος καὶ παρὰ πολλῶν ἐφοίτα, ὅτι τε χρόνον ἀπῆν οὐκ ὀλίγον καὶ ὅτι οὐδεμία ἀγγελία παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἀφῖκτο, ὥστε, ὅπερ φιλεῖ ἐν τοῖς τοιοῖσδε, οὐ γινώσκοντες τὰ ὄντα τὰ μάλιστα καθ᾽ ἡδονήν σφισιν εἴκαζον.

4 Πυθομένῳ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὰ τῶν Θηβαίων οὐδαμῶς ἐδόκει ἀμελητέα εἶναι, τήν τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν δι᾽ ὑποψίας ἐκ πολλοῦ ἔχοντι καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων τὸ τόλμημα οὐ φαῦλον ποιουμένῳ, εἰ Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε πάλαι ἤδη ταῖς γνώμαις ἀφεστηκότες καί τινες καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ οὐ βέβαιοι ὄντες

[1] Krüger adds, with probability, καὶ παρρησίαν.

company pursued to the mountains of the Taulantians; those who did escape, only escaped by jettison of their arms. Cleitus, who at first took to the city, set fire to it and fled to Glaucias among the Taulantians.

VII. Meanwhile some of the fugitives from Thebes slipped into Thebes by night—certain persons inviting them with a view to a rising—seized from the city Amyntas and Timolaus from among the force occupying the Cadmeia (having no suspicion of hostile movement outside) and slew them. Then appearing in the Assembly they incited the Thebans to rebel against Alexander, holding out the lures of freedom [and liberty of speech]—time-honoured and attractive titles—and the shaking off—at long last—of Macedon's heavy yoke. They won additional adherence from the populace by stoutly affirming that Alexander had died in Illyria: this was common talk, and from various sources; he had been long away and no word had come from him, so that, in ignorance of hard fact, they conjectured (as so often happens) what they most desired.

Alexander hearing of what occurred at Thebes took things seriously; for he had long had his suspicions about Athens, and was much concerned about the Theban attempt, should the infection of revolt spread to the Lacedaemonians (already rebels at heart) and other Peloponnesians, to say nothing

συνεπιλήψονται τοῦ νεωτερισμοῦ τοῖς Θηβαίοις.
5 Ἄγων δὴ παρὰ τὴν Ἐορδαίαν τε καὶ τὴν Ἐλιμιῶτιν καὶ παρὰ τὰ τῆς Στυμφαίας καὶ Παραυαίας ἄκρα, ἑβδομαῖος ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Πελλίναν τῆς Θετταλίας. Ἔνθεν δὲ ὁρμηθεὶς ἕκτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐσβάλλει ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ὥστε οὐ πρόσθεν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἔμαθον εἴσω Πυλῶν παρεληλυθότα αὐτόν, πρὶν ἐν Ὀγχηστῷ γενέσθαι
6 ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάσῃ. Καὶ τότε δὲ οἱ πράξαντες τὴν ἀπόστασιν στράτευμα ἐκ Μακεδονίας Ἀντιπάτρου ἀφῖχθαι ἔφασκον, αὐτὸν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον τεθνάναι διισχυρίζοντο, καὶ τοῖς ἀπαγγέλλουσιν ὅτι οὗτος αὐτὸς προσάγει Ἀλέξανδρος χαλεπῶς εἶχον· ἄλλον γάρ τινα ἥκειν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀερόπου.

7 Ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐξ Ὀγχηστοῦ ἄρας τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ προσῆγε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τῶν Θηβαίων κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Ἰολάου τέμενος· οὗ δὴ καὶ ἐστρατοπέδευσεν, ἐνδιδοὺς ἔτι τοῖς Θηβαίοις τριβήν, εἰ μεταγνόντες ἐπὶ τοῖς κακῶς ἐγνωσμένοις
8 πρεσβεύσαιντο παρ' αὐτόν. Οἱ δὲ τοσούτου ἐδέησαν ἐνδόσιμόν τι παρασχεῖν ἐς ξύμβασιν, ὥστ' ἐκθέοντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως οἵ τε ἱππεῖς καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν οὐκ ὀλίγοι ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἠκροβολίζοντο ἐς τὰς προφυλακάς, καί τινας καὶ
9 ἀπέκτειναν οὐ πολλοὺς τῶν Μακεδόνων. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκπέμπει τῶν ψιλῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν, ὥστ' αὐτῶν ἀναστεῖλαι τὴν ἐκδρομήν· καὶ οὗτοι οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀνέστειλαν, ἤδη τῷ στρατοπέδῳ αὐτῷ προσφερομένους. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν καὶ περιελθὼν κατὰ τὰς πύλας τὰς φερούσας ἐπ' Ἐλευθεράς τε καὶ

of the Aetolians, themselves also unreliable. He marches, therefore, along Eordaea and Elimiotis, past the heights of Stymphaea and Paravaea, and on the seventh day reaches Pelinna in Thessaly. Thence in six days he entered Boeotia, so that the Thebans did not learn of his passage of the Gates until his arrival, with all his force, at Onchestus. Thereupon those who had brought about the revolt said that a force of Antipater had come from Macedon, and confidently affirmed Alexander's death, getting annoyed at any who reported Alexander's actual presence at the head of his men: it was, said they, another Alexander, son of Aeropus.

Alexander leaving Onchestus next day reached Thebes, near the enclosure of Iolaus; there he encamped, giving the Thebans a period of grace, in case they should repent and send an embassy to him. They were far from showing any humility that might lead to an agreement; nay, the horsemen and several light troops sallied out towards the camp and discharged long-range volleys at the outposts, even killing a few of the Macedonians. Alexander sent out some of his light troops and archers to hold up their sally; they easily checked the Thebans, who by now were actually approaching the camp. Next day Alexander moved his whole force and came round to the gates leading to Eleu-

τὴν Ἀττικήν, οὐδὲ τότε προσέμιξε τοῖς τείχεσιν
αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐστρατοπέδευσεν οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχων
τῆς Καδμείας, ὥστ' ἐγγὺς εἶναι ὠφέλειαν τῶν
10 Μακεδόνων τοῖς τὴν Καδμείαν ἔχουσιν. Οἱ γὰρ
Θηβαῖοι τὴν Καδμείαν διπλῷ χάρακι ἐφρούρουν
ἀποτειχίσαντες, ὡς μήτε ἔξωθέν τινα τοῖς ἐγκα-
τειλημμένοις δύνασθαι ἐπωφελεῖν, μήτε αὐτοὺς
ἐκθέοντας βλάπτειν τι σφᾶς, ὁπότε τοῖς ἔξω
πολεμίοις προσφέροιντο. Ἀλέξανδρος δέ (ἔτι
γὰρ τοῖς Θηβαίοις διὰ φιλίας ἐλθεῖν μᾶλλόν τι ἢ
διὰ κινδύνου ἤθελε) διέτριβε πρὸς τῇ Καδμείᾳ
11 κατεστρατοπεδευκώς. Ἔνθα δὴ τῶν Θηβαίων οἱ
μὲν τὰ βέλτιστα ἐς τὸ κοινὸν γιγνώσκοντες
ἐξελθεῖν ὥρμηντο παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ εὑρέσθαι
συγγνώμην τῷ πλήθει τῶν Θηβαίων τῆς ἀπο-
στάσεως· οἱ φυγάδες δὲ καὶ ὅσοι τοὺς φυγάδας
ἐπικεκλημένοι ἦσαν, οὐδενὸς φιλανθρώπου τυ-
χεῖν ἂν παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀξιοῦντες, ἄλλως τε
καὶ βοιωταρχοῦντες ἔστιν οἳ αὐτῶν, παντάπασιν
ἐνῆγον τὸ πλῆθος ἐς τὸν πόλεμον. Ἀλέξανδρος
δὲ οὐδ' ὣς τῇ πόλει προσέβαλεν.

VIII. Ἀλλὰ λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου ὅτι Περ-
δίκκας, προτεταγμένος τῆς φυλακῆς τοῦ στρατο-
πέδου σὺν τῇ αὑτοῦ τάξει καὶ τοῦ χάρακος τῶν
πολεμίων οὐ πολὺ ἀφεστηκώς, οὐ προσμείνας
παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸ ἐς τὴν μάχην ξύνθημα,
αὐτὸς πρῶτος προσέμιξε τῷ χάρακι καὶ διασπά-
σας αὐτὸν ἐνέβαλεν ἐς τῶν Θηβαίων τὴν προφυ-
2 λακήν. Τούτῳ δὲ ἑπόμενος Ἀμύντας ὁ Ἀνδρο-
μένους, ὅτι καὶ ξυντεταγμένος τῷ Περδίκκᾳ ἦν,
ἐπήγαγε καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν αὑτοῦ τάξιν, ὡς εἶδε
τὸν Περδίκκαν προεληλυθότα εἴσω τοῦ χάρακος.

therae and Attica, and yet even then did not assault the walls, but pitched camp not far from the Cadmeia, so that support was close at hand for the Macedonians who held the Cadmeia. For the Thebans were investing the Cadmeia, having built a double stockade, so that no one from without could help those invested within, nor they sally out and harm the Thebans when in touch with their enemies without. But Alexander—for he still hoped to be friend, not foe, to Thebes—waited, encamped near the citadel. Then the more public-spirited citizens of Thebes were anxious to go forth to Alexander and win pardon for the Theban people as a whole for their revolt; but the exiles and those who had called them in would not condescend to receive any kindness from Alexander, especially as some of them were officers of the Confederacy of Boeotia; they therefore sought in all ways to urge their countrymen to war. Yet even so Alexander did not attack.

VIII. Ptolemy son of Lagus, however, says that Perdiccas, who was officer in charge of the camp guard with his own detachment and lay not far from the enemy palisade, did not await Alexander's signal for battle, but himself first attacked the palisade and tearing it asunder broke in upon the Theban advance guard. Amyntas son of Andromenes followed, being brigaded with Perdiccas, and led on his detachment so soon as he saw Perdiccas advanced within the palisade. Then Alexander,

Ταῦτα δὲ ἰδὼν Ἀλέξανδρος, ὡς μὴ μόνοι ἀποληφθέντες πρὸς τῶν Θηβαίων κινδυνεύσειαν,
3 ἐπῆγε τὴν ἄλλην στρατιάν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας ἐκδραμεῖν ἐσήμηνεν εἴσω τοῦ χάρακος, τὰ δὲ ἀγήματα καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς ἔτι ἔξω κατεῖχεν. Ἔνθα δὴ Περδίκκας μὲν τοῦ δευτέρου χάρακος εἴσω παρελθεῖν βιαζόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν βληθεὶς πίπτει αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀποκομίζεται κακῶς ἔχων ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ χαλεπῶς διεσώθη ἀπὸ τοῦ τραύματος· τοὺς μέντοι Θηβαίους ἐς τὴν κοίλην ὁδὸν τὴν κατὰ τὸ Ἡράκλειον φέρουσαν οἱ ἅμα αὐτῷ εἰσπεσόντες ὁμοῦ τοῖς παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοξόταις συνέκλεισαν.
4 Καὶ ἔστε μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἡράκλειον ἀναχωροῦσιν, εἵποντο τοῖς Θηβαίοις· ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπιστρεψάντων αὖθις σὺν βοῇ τῶν Θηβαίων, φυγὴ τῶν Μακεδόνων γίγνεται· καὶ Εὐρυβώτας τε ὁ Κρὴς πίπτει ὁ τοξάρχης καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν τοξοτῶν ἐς ἑβδομήκοντα· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ κατέφυγον πρὸς τὸ ἄγημα τὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς
5 τοὺς βασιλικούς. Κἀν τούτῳ Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς μὲν αὑτοῦ φεύγοντας κατιδών, τοὺς Θηβαίους δὲ λελυκότας ἐν τῇ διώξει τὴν τάξιν, ἐμβάλλει ἐς αὐτοὺς συντεταγμένῃ τῇ φάλαγγι· οἱ δὲ ὠθοῦσι τοὺς Θηβαίους εἴσω τῶν πυλῶν· καὶ τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἐς τοσόνδε φοβερὰ ἡ φυγὴ ἐγίγνετο, ὥστε διὰ τῶν πυλῶν ὠθούμενοι ἐς τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἔφθησαν συγκλεῖσαι τὰς πύλας· ἀλλὰ συνεισπίπτουσι γὰρ αὐτοῖς εἴσω τοῦ τείχους ὅσοι τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐγγὺς φευγόντων εἴχοντο, ἅτε καὶ τῶν τειχῶν διὰ τὰς προφυλακὰς τὰς πολλὰς
6 ἐρήμων ὄντων. Καὶ παρελθόντες εἰς τὴν

seeing this, so that they might not be stranded and so at the mercy of the Thebans, brought up the rest of the army. The archers and the Agrianes he ordered to make a diversion inside the palisade; but he still retained his shock troops and his guard outside. Then Perdiccas, trying to force his way into the second palisade, was wounded and lay where he fell; he was borne off, in sorry plight, to the camp and only with difficulty was healed of his wound. His men, joining Alexander's archers, hemmed the Thebans in the sunken road leading down by the Heracleum; while the Thebans retreated towards the Heracleum, the Macedonians followed; but then the Thebans turned to bay with a shout, and the Macedonians to flight. There fell Eurybotas the Cretan, commander of the archers, and about seventy of his men; the rest took refuge with the Macedonian picked troops, and with the royal guards. In the meanwhile Alexander, seeing his troops fugitives, and the Thebans in loosened order in the pursuit, charged them with phalanx in battle formation. The Thebans were pushed inside the gates, their flight became so far a panic that while being thrust through the gates into the city they could not shut the gates in time. So there actually passed in with them within the wall such of the Macedonians as were pressing on the fugitives; the walls being now undefended on account of the large number of advanced posts. Those from this side

Καδμείαν οἱ μὲν ἐκεῖθεν κατὰ τὸ Ἀμφεῖον σὺν
τοῖς κατέχουσι τὴν Καδμείαν ἐξέβαινον ἐς τὴν
ἄλλην πόλιν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὰ τείχη, ἐχόμενα ἤδη
πρὸς τῶν συνεισπεσόντων τοῖς φεύγουσιν,
ὑπερβάντες ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν δρόμῳ ἐφέροντο.
7 Καὶ ὀλίγον μέν τινα χρόνον ἔμειναν οἱ τεταγ-
μένοι τῶν Θηβαίων κατὰ τὸ Ἀμφεῖον· ὡς δὲ
πανταχόθεν αὐτοῖς οἱ Μακεδόνες καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος
ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ ἐπιφαινόμενος προσέκειντο, οἱ μὲν
ἱππεῖς τῶν Θηβαίων διεκπεσόντες[1] διὰ τῆς
πόλεως ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἐξέπιπτον, οἱ δὲ πεζοὶ ὡς
8 ἑκάστοις προὐχώρει ἐσῴζοντο. Ἔνθα δὴ ὀργῇ
οὐχ οὕτως τι οἱ Μακεδόνες, ἀλλὰ Φωκεῖς τε καὶ
Πλαταιεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ Βοιωτοὶ οὐδὲ ἀμυνο-
μένους ἔτι τοὺς Θηβαίους οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἔκτεινον,
τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐπεισπίπτοντες, οὓς δὲ
καὶ ἐς ἀλκὴν τετραμμένους, τοὺς δὲ καὶ πρὸς
ἱεροῖς ἱκετεύοντας, οὔτε γυναικῶν οὔτε παίδων
φειδόμενοι.

IX. Καὶ πάθος τοῦτο Ἑλληνικὸν μεγέθει τε
τῆς ἁλούσης πόλεως καὶ ὀξύτητι τοῦ ἔργου, οὐχ
ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ τῷ παραλόγῳ ἔς τε τοὺς παθόντας
καὶ τοὺς δράσαντας, οὐ μεῖόν τι τοὺς ἄλλους
Ἕλληνας ἢ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς μετασχόντας τοῦ
2 ἔργου ἐξέπληξε. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ περὶ Σικελίαν
Ἀθηναίοις ξυνενεχθέντα, εἰ καὶ πλήθει τῶν
ἀπολομένων οὐ μείονα τὴν ξυμφορὰν τῇ πόλει
ἤνεγκεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ τε πόρρω ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας
διαφθαρῆναι αὐτοῖς τὸν στρατόν, καὶ τὸν πολὺν

[1] Roos suggests with plausibility διεκπαίσαντες; but the repetition—πεσόντες . . . -έπιπτον is not foreign to Arrian's style.

passed into the Cadmeia along the Ampheum, with the holders of the Cadmeia, and passed into the city proper; those by the walls, already held by the troops that had poured in together with the fugitives, passed over the walls and rushed to the market-place. For a while the Theban armed forces stood their ground by the Ampheum, but as the Macedonians pressed upon them from all sides, and Alexander appeared, now here, now there, the Theban cavalry, pushing their way through the city, streamed out upon the plain; with the infantry it was *sauve qui peut*. And then, in hot blood, it was not so much the Macedonians as Phocians and Plataeans and the other Boeotians who slaughtered broadcast the unresisting Thebans; some in their houses, breaking a way into them; some showing fight; others even suppliant in the temples—and sparing neither woman nor child.

IX. This disaster of Greeks, both by the size of the captured city, and by the sharpness of the action —and not least by the general unexpectedness of the event, both to victors and victims—caused as much horror to the other Greeks as to those who had a hand in it. The Sicilian disaster of the Athenians, if in number of the slain it brought a similar disaster upon the city, yet, since their army was destroyed far from home—and that, too, an army rather of

ξυμμαχικὸν μᾶλλον ἢ οἰκεῖον ὄντα, καὶ τῷ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς περιλειφθῆναι, ὡς καὶ ἐς ὕστερον ἐπὶ πολὺ τῷ πολέμῳ ἀντισχεῖν Λακεδαιμονίοις τε καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις καὶ μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ πολεμοῦντας, οὔτε αὐτοῖς τοῖς παθοῦσιν ἴσην τὴν αἴσθησιν τῆς ξυμφορᾶς προσέθηκεν, οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει ἔκπληξιν
3 ὁμοίαν παρέσχε. Καὶ τὸ ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς αὖθις Ἀθηναίων πταῖσμα ναυτικόν τε ἦν καὶ ἡ πόλις οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν καθαιρέσει καὶ νεῶν τῶν πολλῶν παραδόσει καὶ στερήσει τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐς ταπεινότητα ἀφικομένη, τό τε σχῆμα τὸ πάτριον ὅμως ἐφύλαξε καὶ τὴν δύναμιν οὐ διὰ μακροῦ τὴν πάλαι ἀνέλαβεν, ὡς τά τε μακρὰ τείχη ἐκτειχίσαι καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης αὖθις ἐπικρατῆσαι καὶ τοὺς τότε φοβεροὺς σφισι Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ παρ' ὀλίγον ἐλθόντας ἀφάνισαι τὴν πόλιν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ μέρει ἐκ τῶν ἐσχάτων κινδύνων διασώσασθαι.
4 Λακεδαιμονίων τε αὖ τὸ κατὰ Λεῦκτρα καὶ Μαντίνειαν πταῖσμα τῷ παραλόγῳ μᾶλλόν τι τῆς ξυμφορᾶς ἢ τῷ πλήθει τῶν γε[1] ἀπολομένων τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐξέπληξεν· ἥ τε ξὺν Ἐπαμεινώνδᾳ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Ἀρκάδων γενομένη προσβολὴ πρὸς τὴν Σπάρτην καὶ αὐτὴ τῷ ἀήθει τῆς ὄψεως μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ ἀκριβείᾳ τῶν κινδύνων αὐτούς τε τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμετασχόντας αὐτοῖς τῶν τότε πραγμάτων
5 ἐφόβησεν. Ἡ δὲ δὴ Πλαταιέων ἅλωσις τῆς πόλεως τῇ σμικρότητι[2] τῶν ἐγκαταληφθέντων,

[1] τε Codd. Ellendt omits.
[2] Editors add καὶ τῇ ὀλιγότητι. Roos marks lacuna.

allies than of citizens—and their city being left to them, so that they held out some time in the war against Sparta, their allies, and Persia—even this, I say, gave no such sense of calamity to the sufferers, and did not strike the Greeks generally with such horror and amazement at the catastrophe. Or, again, the Athenian defeat at Aegospotami was at sea, and the city reduced indeed to humility by the destruction of its long walls, the surrender of most of its ships, and loss of its sovereignty, yet retained its former shape, and soon recovered its former strength; built, in fact, once more its long walls, won again its sea-power, and actually saved in some measure from severe danger those very Lacedaemonians, then so terrible, who had come so near to destroying Athens. The defeat of the Lacedaemonians themselves at Leuctra and Mantinea came as a great shock to them rather by the unexpectedness of the disaster than by the number of the slain. The onslaught of Epameinondas with his Boeotians and Arcadians upon Sparta scared the Spartans and their allies rather by the strangeness of such a sight than the gravity of the danger. The capture, again, of Plataea, was not a very serious affair because

ὅτι οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν διαπεφεύγεσαν πάλαι ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, οὐ μέγα πάθημα ἐγένετο, καὶ ἡ Μήλου καὶ Σκιώνης ἅλωσις, νησιωτικά τε πολίσματα ἦν καὶ τοῖς δράσασιν αἰσχύνην μᾶλλόν τι προσέβαλεν ἢ ἐς τὸ ξύμπαν Ἑλληνικὸν μέγαν τὸν παράλογον παρέσχε.

6 Θηβαίοις δὲ τὰ τῆς ἀποστάσεως ὀξέα καὶ ξὺν οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ γενόμενα, καὶ ἡ ἅλωσις δι' ὀλίγου τε καὶ οὐ ξὺν πόνῳ τῶν ἑλόντων ξυνενεχθεῖσα, καὶ ὁ φόνος πολύς, οἷα δὴ ἐξ ὁμοφύλων τε καὶ παλαιᾶς ἀπεχθείας ἐπεξιόντων, καὶ ὁ τῆς πόλεως παντελὴς ἀνδραποδισμός, δυνάμει τε καὶ δόξῃ ἐς τὰ πολέμια τῶν τότε προεχούσης ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ εἰκότος ἐς μῆνιν τὴν
7 ἀπὸ τοῦ θείου ἀνηνέχθη, ὡς τῆς τε ἐν τῷ Μηδικῷ πολέμῳ προδοσίας τῶν Ἑλλήνων διὰ μακροῦ ταύτην δίκην ἐκτίσαντας Θηβαίους, καὶ τῆς Πλαταιέων ἔν τε ταῖς σπονδαῖς καταλήψεως καὶ τοῦ παντελοῦς ἀνδραποδισμοῦ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τῆς τῶν παραδόντων σφᾶς αὐτοὺς Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐχ Ἑλληνικῆς γενομένης διὰ Θηβαίους σφαγῆς, καὶ τοῦ χωρίου τῆς ἐρημώσεως ἐν ὅτῳ οἱ Ἕλληνες παραταξάμενοι Μήδοις ἀπώσαντο τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὸν κίνδυνον, καὶ ὅτι Ἀθηναίους αὐτοὶ τῇ ψήφῳ ἀπώλλυον, ὅτε ὑπὲρ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ τῆς πόλεως γνώμη προὐτέθη ἐν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίων ξυμ-
8 μάχοις· ἐπεὶ καὶ πρὸ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς πολλὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ θείου ἐπισημῆναι ἐλέγετο, ἃ δὴ ἐν μὲν τῷ παραυτίκα ἠμελήθη, ὕστερον δὲ ἡ μνήμη αὐτὰ ἐς λογισμὸν τοῦ ἐκπάλαι ἐπὶ τοῖς ξυνενεχθεῖσι προσημανθῆναι ἀνήνεγκε.

9 Τοῖς δὲ μετασχοῦσι τοῦ ἔργου ξυμμάχοις, οἷς

of the small number of those captured in the city—the greater number having fled long before to Athens. Finally, the capture of Melos and Scione, which were merely island fortresses, rather brought shame to the captors than any great shock to the Greeks in general.

With Thebes, on the other hand, the hastiness of the revolt, her want of reasoned policy, her sudden capture, with so little trouble to the victors, the massacre, such as arises from kindred tribes wreaking ancient vengeance, the complete enslavement of the city, then one of the first in Greece in power and military prestige, were quite naturally set down to divine wrath: Thebes, men said, had thus paid the price, at length, of her betrayal of the Greek cause in the Persian wars, of her seizure of Plataea during the truce, of her complete enslavement of the Plataeans, of the massacre—the work of Thebes, not of Greece—of men who had surrendered not to Thebes but to Sparta, of the devastation of the Plataean countryside, on which the Greeks, ranged shoulder to shoulder against Persia, had repelled the common danger of Greece; and last, of the vote cast for the destruction of Athens when the suggestion was put before the allies of Sparta that the Athenians should be sold into slavery. People said that the coming disaster cast its shadow before, in many divine warnings, neglected then, but the memory thereof later made people realize that there had long been prognostications, now confirmed by the event.

The allies who took part in the attack, to whom

δὴ καὶ ἐπέτρεψεν Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ κατὰ τὰς Θήβας διαθεῖναι, τὴν μὲν Καδμείαν φρουρᾷ κατέχειν ἔδοξε, τὴν πόλιν δὲ κατασκάψαι εἰς ἔδαφος, καὶ τὴν χώραν κατανεῖμαι τοῖς ξυμμάχοις ὅση μὴ ἱερὰ αὐτῆς· παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ὅσοι ὑπελείποντο Θηβαίων, πλὴν τῶν ἱερέων τε καὶ ἱερειῶν καὶ ὅσοι ξένοί Φιλίππου ἢ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἢ ὅσοι πρόξενοι Μακεδόνων ἐγέ-
10 νοντο, ἀνδραποδίσαι. Καὶ τὴν Πινδάρου δὲ τοῦ ποιητοῦ οἰκίαν καὶ τοὺς ἀπογόνους τοῦ Πινδάρου λέγουσιν ὅτι διεφύλαξεν Ἀλέξανδρος αἰδοῖ τῇ Πινδάρου. Ἐπὶ τούτοις Ὀρχομενόν τε καὶ Πλαταιὰς ἀναστῆσαί τε καὶ τειχίσαι οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἔγνωσαν.

X. Ἐς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη τῶν Θηβαίων τὸ πάθος, Ἀρκάδες μέν, ὅσοι βοηθήσοντες Θηβαίοις ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας ὡρμήθησαν, θάνατον κατεψηφίσαντο τῶν ἐπαράντων σφᾶς ἐς τὴν βοήθειαν· Ἠλεῖοι δὲ τοὺς φυγάδας σφῶν κατεδέξαντο, ὅτι ἐπιτήδειοι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
2 ἦσαν· Αἰτωλοὶ δὲ πρεσβείας σφῶν κατὰ ἔθνη πέμψαντες ξυγγνώμης τυχεῖν ἐδέοντο, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοί τι πρὸς τὰ παρὰ τῶν Θηβαίων ἀπαγγελθέντα ἐνεωτέρισαν. Ἀθηναῖοι δέ, μυστηρίων τῶν μεγάλων ἀγομένων ὡς ἧκόν τινες τῶν Θηβαίων ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔργου, τὰ μὲν μυστήρια ἐκπλαγέντες ἐξέλιπον, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐσκευα-
3 γώγουν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. Ὁ δῆμος δὲ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συνελθὼν Δημάδου γράψαντος δέκα πρέσβεις ἐκ πάντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιλεξάμενος πέμπει παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον οὕστινας ἐπιτηδειοτάτους Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐγίγνωσκον, ὅτι τε σῶος ἐξ Ἰλλυ-

Alexander had entrusted the final settlement, decided to garrison the Cadmeia, but to raze the city even with the ground, and to apportion its territory among the allies, save the sacred spots, and to enslave women and children, and any Theban survivors, save any who had friendship with Philip or Alexander, or any who had been patrons of Macedonians. The house of Pindar, and any of his descendants, Alexander saved—so it is related—from reverence for Pindar. Besides this, the allies determined to rebuild and fortify Orchomenus and Plataea.

X. When the fate of Thebes was notified to the other Greeks, the Arcadians who had left home to help Thebes condemned to death those who had persuaded them to take this step. The Eleans received their own fugitives, being on good terms with Alexander. The Aetolians sent embassies, tribe by tribe, and begged forgiveness, on the ground that they had revolted only because of the news brought from Thebes. The Athenians were celebrating their great mysteries when refugees came from Thebes, hot foot from the assault; in consternation they abandoned the mysteries and began to get in their stuff from the country into the city. The people came into assembly, and on the motion of Demades chose ten ambassadors from the whole body of citizens—men known to be on the most friendly terms with Alexander—and sent them to him bearing the city's rather unseasonable con-

ριῶν καὶ Τριβαλλῶν ἐπανῆλθε χαίρειν τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ ἀπαγγελοῦντας, καὶ
4 ὅτι Θηβαίους τοῦ νεωτερισμοῦ ἐτιμωρήσατο. Ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα φιλανθρώπως πρὸς τὴν πρεσβείαν ἀπεκρίνατο, ἐπιστολὴν δὲ γράψας πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἐξῄτει τοὺς ἀμφὶ Δημοσθένην καὶ Λυκοῦργον· καὶ Ὑπερείδην δὲ ἐξῄτει καὶ Πολύευκτον καὶ Χάρητα καὶ Χαρίδημον καὶ Ἐφιάλτην καὶ
5 Διότιμον καὶ Μοιροκλέα· τούτους γὰρ αἰτίους εἶναι τῆς τε ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ ξυμφορᾶς τῇ πόλει γενομένης καὶ τῶν ὕστερον ἐπὶ τῇ Φιλίππου τελευτῇ πλημμεληθέντων ἔς τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐς Φίλιππον· καὶ Θηβαίοις δὲ τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἀπέφαινεν αἰτίους οὐ μεῖον ἢ τοὺς αὐτῶν
6 Θηβαίων νεωτερίσαντας. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας οὐκ ἐξέδοσαν, πρεσβεύονται δὲ αὖθις παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀφεῖναι δεόμενοι τὴν ὀργὴν τοῖς ἐξαιτηθεῖσι· καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀφῆκε, τυχὸν μὲν αἰδοῖ τῆς πόλεως, τυχὸν δὲ σπουδῇ τοῦ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν στόλου, οὐκ ἐθέλων οὐδὲν ὕποπτον ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὑπολείπεσθαι. Χαρίδημον μέντοι, μόνον τῶν ἐξαιτηθέντων τε καὶ οὐ δοθέντων, φεύγειν ἐκέλευσε· καὶ φεύγει Χαρίδημος ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον.

XI. Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν· καὶ τῷ τε Διὶ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ τὴν θυσίαν τὴν ἀπ᾽ Ἀρχελάου ἔτι καθεστῶσαν ἔθυσε καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐν Αἰγαῖς διέθηκε τὰ Ὀλύμπια· οἱ δὲ καὶ ταῖς Μούσαις λέγουσιν ὅτι ἀγῶνα
2 ἐποίησε. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀγγέλλεται τὸ Ὀρφέως τοῦ Οἰάγρου τοῦ Θρᾳκὸς ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐν Πιερίδι ἱδρῶσαι ξυνεχῶς· καὶ ἄλλοι ἄλλα ἐπεθείαζον

gratulations on his safe return from the Illyrians and Triballians, and on his punishment of the Theban revolt. Alexander replied for the most part in friendly tone to the embassy, but wrote a letter to the city demanding the adherents of Demosthenes and Lycurgus, as well as Hypereides, Polyeuctas, Chares, Charidemus, Ephialtes, Diotimus, and Moerocles: these he held responsible for the disaster of Chaeronea and wrongs later committed, at Philip's death, against himself and Philip. He also showed them to be guilty of the Theban rebellion not less than the Theban rebels themselves. The Athenians did not give up these men, but sent a second embassy to Alexander, begging him to relax his wrath towards those whom he had demanded. Alexander did so—whether from regard for Athens, or because he was anxious to get on with his Asian expedition and loath to leave anything behind in Greece which he could not trust. Charidemus alone, however, of those men whom he had demanded, but not received, he ordered to be exiled; and he took refuge in Asia at the court of King Dareius.

XI. When all this had been set in order Alexander returned to Macedonia, where he sacrificed the traditional sacrifice (established by Archelaus) to Olympian Zeus and kept the Olympian games at Aegae: others add that he held games in honour of the Muses. Meanwhile, word comes that the statue of Orpheus, son of Oeagrus the Thracian, in Pieria, had sweated continuously; the seers

τῶν μάντεων. Ἀρίστανδρος δέ, ἀνὴρ Τελμισσεύς, μάντις, θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευσεν Ἀλέξανδρον· δηλοῦσθαι γὰρ ὅτι ποιηταῖς ἐπῶν τε καὶ μελῶν καὶ ὅσοι ἀμφὶ ᾠδὴν ἔχουσι πολὺς πόνος ἔσται ποιεῖν τε καὶ ᾄδειν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργα.

3 Ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ ἐξελαύνει ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου, τὰ μὲν κατὰ Μακεδονίαν τε καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας Ἀντιπάτρῳ ἐπιτρέψας, αὐτὸς δὲ ἄγων πεζοὺς μὲν σὺν ψιλοῖς τε καὶ τοξόταις οὐ πολλῷ πλείους τῶν τρισμυρίων, ἱππέας δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους. Ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ στόλος παρὰ τὴν λίμνην τὴν Κερκινῖτιν ὡς ἐπ' Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ τοῦ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ τὰς
4 ἐκβολάς. Διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Στρυμόνα παρήμειβε τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος τὴν ὡς ἐπ' Ἄβδηρα καὶ Μαρώνειαν, πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ ᾠκισμένας. Ἔνθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἕβρον ποταμὸν ἀφικόμενος, διαβαίνει καὶ τὸν Ἕβρον εὐπετῶς. Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ διὰ τῆς Παιτικῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Μέλανα
5 ποταμὸν ἔρχεται. Διαβὰς δὲ καὶ τὸν Μέλανα ἐς Σηστὸν ἀφικνεῖται ἐν εἴκοσι ταῖς πάσαις ἡμέραις ἀπὸ τῆς οἴκοθεν ἐξορμήσεως. Ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Ἐλαιοῦντα θύει Πρωτεσιλάῳ ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ Πρωτεσιλάου, ὅτι καὶ Πρωτεσίλαος πρῶτος ἐδόκει ἐκβῆναι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἅμα Ἀγαμέμνονι ἐς Ἴλιον στρατευσάντων· καὶ ὁ νοῦς τῆς θυσίας ἦν ἐπιτυχεστέραν οἷ γενέσθαι ἢ Πρωτεσιλάῳ τὴν ἀπόβασιν.

6 Παρμενίων μὲν δὴ τῶν πεζῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τὴν ἵππον διαβιβάσαι ἐτάχθη ἐκ Σηστοῦ ἐς Ἄβυδον· καὶ διέβησαν ἐν τριήρεσι μὲν ἑκατὸν

interpreted this variously, but Aristandrus of Telmissae bade Alexander be of good cheer; it was signified, he said, that to makers of epics and choric songs and writers of odes there would be much toil to poetize and sing of Alexander and his exploits.

In early spring Alexander marches to the Hellespont, leaving Macedonian and Greek affairs in charge of Antipatros. He led off, of infantry, with light troops and archers, not much above thirty thousand, of cavalry over five thousand. His route was past Lake Cercinitis in the direction of Amphipolis and the delta of the river Strymon. He crossed the Strymon and passed Mount Pangeon, working towards Abdera and Maroneia, Greek cities settled on the sea. Thence he reached the Hebrus and crossed it with ease; thence through Paetike he reached the Black River, crossed it, and reached Sestus after twenty days' marching in all from home. Arriving at Elaeon he sacrificed to Protesilaus at Protesilaus' tomb, since he was thought to be the first Greek of those who went with Agamemnon to Troy to disembark on Asian soil. The intention of the sacrifice was that the setting foot on Asian soil might be more prosperous to Alexander than to Protesilaus.

Parmenio was appointed to see to the ferrying over from Sestus to Abydos of the greater part of the infantry and the cavalry; they crossed in a

καὶ ἑξήκοντα, πλοίοις δὲ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς στρογ-
γύλοις. Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ ἐξ Ἐλαιοῦντος ἐς τὸν
Ἀχαιῶν λιμένα καταῖραι ὁ πλείων λόγος κατέχει,
καὶ αὐτόν τε κυβερνῶντα τὴν στρατηγίδα ναῦν
διαβάλλειν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ κατὰ μέσον τὸν πόρον
τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ἐγένετο, σφάξαντα ταῦρον
τῷ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ Νηρηΐσι σπένδειν ἐκ χρυσῆς
7 φιάλης ἐς τὸν πόντον. Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ πρῶτον
ἐκ τῆς νεὼς σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐκβῆναι αὐτὸν ἐς
τὴν γῆν τὴν Ἀσίαν, καὶ βωμοὺς ἱδρύσασθαι,
ὅθεν τε ἐστάλη ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης καὶ ὅπου ἐξέβη
τῆς Ἀσίας, Διὸς ἀποβατηρίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ
Ἡρακλέους· ἀνελθόντα δὲ ἐς Ἴλιον τῇ τε Ἀθηνᾷ
θῦσαι τῇ Ἰλιάδι, καὶ τὴν πανοπλίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ
ἀναθεῖναι ἐς τὸν νεών, καὶ καθελεῖν ἀντὶ ταύτης
τῶν ἱερῶν τινα ὅπλων ἔτι ἐκ τοῦ Τρωϊκοῦ ἔργου
8 σωζόμενα. Καὶ ταῦτα λέγουσιν ὅτι οἱ ὑπασπισ-
ταὶ ἔφερον πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐς τὰς μάχας. Θῦσαι δὲ
αὐτὸν καὶ Πριάμῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ
Ἑρκείου λόγος κατέχει, μῆνιν Πριάμου παραι-
τούμενον τῷ Νεοπτολέμου γένει, ὃ δὴ ἐς αὐτὸν
καθῆκεν.

XII. Ἀνιόντα δ' αὐτὸν ἐς Ἴλιον Μενοίτιός τε ὁ κυβερνήτης χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἐστεφάνωσε καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ Χάρης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐκ Σιγείου ἐλθὼν καί τινες καὶ ἄλλοι, οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες, οἱ δὲ[1] ἐπιχώριοι. Ἡφαιστίωνα δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι τοῦ Πατρόκλου τὸν τάφον ἐστεφάνωσεν· οἱ δέ,

[1] A reads οἱ δὲ . . . ἐστεφάνωσεν· Ἡφαιστίωνα δὲ . . . ἐστεφάνωσεν, transposed by Ellendt. The transposition does not heal the passage which has become corrupted by homoeoteleuta.

92.5

hundred and sixty triremes and in a good number of cargo boats. Most authorities say that Alexander sailed from Elaeon to the Achaean harbour, and steered the admiral's ship himself, sacrificing, when in the midst of the strait, a bull to Poseidon, and pouring into the sea a drink offering from a golden bowl to the goddesses of the sea. Further, legend says that he disembarked first on Asian soil, armed cap-à-pie, and set up altars both where he started from Europe and where he landed in Asia to Zeus of Safe Landings, Athena, and Heracles. Then he ascended to Ilium, and sacrificed to Athena of Ilium, dedicated his full armour, laying it up in the temple, and took down in its place some of the dedicated arms yet remaining from the Trojan war; these, it is said, his bodyguard bore before him into battle. Then he sacrificed also to Priam at the altar of Zeus of Enclosures—so runs the legend—praying Priam not to be wroth with the race of Neoptolemus, of which he himself was a scion.

XII. When Alexander reached Ilium Menoetius the navigator crowned him with a golden wreath and so did Chares, the Athenian, arriving from Segeium with others, Greeks or natives of the place; then Hephaestion, they say, placed a wreath on Patroclus' tomb; and Alexander likewise on Achilles'

34868

ὅτι καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέως [ἄρα] τάφον ἐστεφάνωσε· καὶ εὐδαιμόνισεν ἄρα, ὡς ὁ λόγος, Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀχιλλέα, ὅτι Ὁμήρου κήρυκος ἐς τὴν ἔπειτα
2 μνήμην ἔτυχε. Καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἦν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ οὐχ ἥκιστα τούτου ἕνεκα εὐδαιμονιστέος Ἀχιλλεύς, ὅτι αὐτῷ γε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην ἐπιτυχίαν, τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο ἐκλιπὲς ξυνέβη οὐδὲ ἐξηνέχθη ἐς ἀνθρώπους τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργα ἐπαξίως· οὔτ᾽ οὖν καταλογάδην οὔτε τις ἐν μέτρῳ ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ ἐν μέλει ᾔσθη Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐν ὅτῳ Ἱέρων τε καὶ Γέλων καὶ Θήρων καὶ πολλοὶ ἄλλοι οὐδέν τι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐπεοικότες, ὥστε πολὺ μεῖον γιγνώσκεται τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἢ τὰ φαυλότατα τῶν πάλαι ἔργων.
3 ὁπότε καὶ ἡ τῶν μυρίων σὺν Κύρῳ ἄνοδος ἐπὶ βασιλέα Ἀρταξέρξην καὶ τὰ Κλεάρχου τε καὶ τῶν ἅμα αὐτῷ ἁλόντων παθήματα καὶ ἡ κατάβασις αὐτῶν ἐκείνων, ἣν Ξενοφῶν αὐτοὺς κατήγαγε, πολύ τι ἐπιφανέστερα ἐς ἀνθρώπους Ξενοφῶντος ἕνεκά ἐστιν ἢ Ἀλέξανδρός τε καὶ
4 τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργα. Καίτοι Ἀλέξανδρος οὔτε ξὺν ἄλλῳ ἐστράτευσεν, οὔτε φεύγων μέγαν βασιλέα τοὺς τῇ καθόδῳ τῇ ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἐμποδὼν γιγνομένους ἐκράτησεν· ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις ἄλλος εἷς ἀνὴρ τοσαῦτα ἢ τηλικαῦτα ἔργα κατὰ πλῆθος ἢ μέγεθος ἐν Ἕλλησιν ἢ βαρβάροις ἀπεδείξατο. Ἔνθεν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁρμηθῆναί φημι ἐς τήνδε τὴν ξυγγραφήν, οὐκ ἀπαξιώσας ἐμαυτὸν φανερὰ καταστήσειν ἐς ἀνθρώπους τὰ Ἀλεξάν-
5 δρου ἔργα. Ὅστις δὲ ὢν ταῦτα ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ γιγνώσκω, τὸ μὲν ὄνομα οὐδὲν δέομαι ἀναγράψαι, οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἄγνωστον ἐς ἀνθρώπους ἐστίν,

tomb; Alexander—as is related—accounting Achilles happy in that he had a Homer to be the herald of his after-fame. Alexander might well count Achilles happy on this score, since, fortunate as Alexander was in other ways, there was a great gap left here, and Alexander's exploits were never worthily bruited abroad; no one did so in narrative prose, no one sang of him in verse; nay, not even in choral lyric was Alexander chanted as were Hiero, Gelo, Thero, and many others, men not of Alexander's stature; whence Alexander's exploits are far less known than the minor deeds of past ages. Why, the Anabasis of the Ten Thousand with Cyrus against Artaxerxes, the sufferings of Clearchus and those captured with him, their descent to the sea, led by Xenophon, are, thanks to Xenophon, far better known to the world than Alexander and Alexander's exploits. Yet Alexander did not merely take the field with someone else; he did not run away from the Great King and only conquer those who tried to stop the seaward march; no one man gave proof of so many or such wondrous deeds, whether in number or greatness, among Greeks and Orientals alike. That, I declare, is why I have set forth to write this history, not judging myself unworthy to blazon before mankind the deeds of Alexander. This at least—whoever I am—I know in my favour; I need not write my name—it is not unknown among

οὐδὲ πατρίδα ἥτις μοί ἐστιν οὐδὲ γένος τὸ ἐμόν,
οὐδὲ εἰ δή τινα ἀρχὴν ἐν τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ ἦρξα· ἀλλ᾽
ἐκεῖνο ἀναγράφω, ὅτι ἐμοὶ πατρίς τε καὶ γένος
καὶ ἀρχαὶ οἵδε οἱ λόγοι εἰσί τε καὶ ἀπὸ νέου
ἔτι ἐγένοντο. Καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε οὐκ ἀπαξιῶ ἐμαυτὸν
τῶν πρώτων ἐν τῇ φωνῇ τῇ Ἑλλάδι, εἴπερ οὖν
καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις.
6 Ἐξ Ἰλίου δὲ ἐς Ἀρίσβην ἧκεν, οὗ πᾶσα ἡ
δύναμις αὐτῷ διαβεβηκυῖα τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον
ἐστρατοπεδεύκει, καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐς Περκώτην·
τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ Λάμψακον παραμείψας πρὸς τῷ
Πρακτίῳ ποταμῷ ἐστρατοπέδευσεν, ὃς ῥέων ἐκ
τῶν ὀρῶν Ἰδαίων ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν
μεταξὺ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου τε καὶ τοῦ Εὐξείνου
πόντου. Ἔνθεν δὲ ἐς Ἕρμωτον ἀφίκετο, Κολωνὰς
7 πόλιν παραμείψας. Σκοποὶ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπέμποντο
πρὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος· καὶ τούτων ἡγεμὼν ἦν
Ἀμύντας ὁ Ἀρραβαίου, ἔχων τῶν τε ἑταίρων τὴν
ἴλην τὴν ἐξ Ἀπολλωνίας, ἧς ἰλάρχης ἦν Σω-
κράτης ὁ Σάθωνος, καὶ τῶν προδρόμων καλου-
μένων ἴλας τέσσαρας· κατὰ δὲ τὴν πάροδον
Πρίαπον πόλιν ἐνδοθεῖσαν πρὸς τῶν ἐνοικούντων
τοὺς παραληψομένους ἀπέστειλε σὺν Πανηγόρῳ
τῷ Λυκαγόρου, ἑνὶ τῶν ἑταίρων.
8 Περσῶν δὲ στρατηγοὶ ἦσαν Ἀρσάμης καὶ
Ῥεομίθρης καὶ Πετίνης καὶ Νιφάτης καὶ ξὺν
τούτοις Σπιθριδάτης ὁ Λυδίας καὶ Ἰωνίας σα-
τράπης καὶ Ἀρσίτης ὁ τῆς πρὸς Ἑλλησπόντῳ
Φρυγίας ὕπαρχος. Οὗτοι δὲ πρὸς Ζελείᾳ τῇ
πόλει κατεστρατοπεδευκότες ἦσαν ξὺν τῇ ἵππῳ
τε τῇ βαρβαρικῇ καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι τοῖς μισθο-
9 φόροις. Βουλευομένοις δὲ αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν

men—nor my country nor my family nor any office I may have held among my own folk; this I do set on paper, that this history is, and was from my boyhood, my country, family, and offices. That is why I do not shrink from setting myself alongside of the masters of Greek speech, since my subject was first among the masters of Greek warfare.

From Ilium Alexander came to Arisbe, where his whole force, after crossing the Hellespont, had encamped; next day to Percote; the next, he passed Lampsacus and camped by the river Practius, which flowing from Mount Ida runs into the sea that lies between the Hellespont and the Euxine Sea. Thence he came to Hermotos, passing by Colonae. He sent scouts ahead of the army; Amyntas, son of Arrabaeus, led them, with the territorial squadron from Apollonia, whose squadron-leader was Socrates son of Sathon, with four squadrons of the advanced scouts, as they were called. On his passage the city Priapus was surrendered to him by the citizens, and he sent a party to take it over under Paregorus son of Lycagorus, one of the territorials.

The Persian commanders were Arsames, Rheomithres, Petines, Niphates, and with them Spithridates the satrap of Lydia and Ionia and Arsites the governor of Hellespontine Phrygia. They had already encamped by the city of Zeleia with the Persian cavalry and the mercenary Greeks. When they held a council of war, Alexander's crossing

παρόντων, ἐπειδὴ Ἀλέξανδρος διαβεβηκὼς ἠγγέλλετο, Μέμνων ὁ Ῥόδιος παρῄνει μὴ διὰ κινδύνου ἰέναι πρὸς τοὺς Μακεδόνας, τῷ τε πεζῷ πολὺ περιόντας σφῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου παρόντος, αὐτοῖς δὲ ἀπόντος Δαρείου· προϊόντας δὲ τόν τε χιλὸν ἀφανίζειν καταπατοῦντας τῇ ἵππῳ καὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ καρπὸν ἐμπιπράναι, μηδὲ τῶν πόλεων αὐτῶν φειδομένους· οὐ γὰρ μενεῖν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων.
10 Ἀρσίτην δὲ λέγεται εἰπεῖν ἐν τῷ συλλόγῳ τῶν Περσῶν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν περιίδοι μίαν οἰκίαν ἐμπρησθεῖσαν τῶν ὑπὸ οἷ τεταγμένων ἀνθρώπων· καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας Ἀρσίτῃ προσθέσθαι, ὅτι καὶ ὕποπτόν τι αὐτοῖς ἦν ἐς τὸν Μέμνονα, τριβὰς ἐμποιεῖν ἑκόντα τῷ πολέμῳ τῆς ἐκ βασιλέως τιμῆς ἕνεκα.

XIII. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος προὐχώρει ἐπὶ τὸν Γρανικὸν ποταμὸν ξυντεταγμένῳ τῷ στρατῷ, διπλῆν μὲν τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν ὁπλιτῶν τάξας, τοὺς δὲ ἱππέας κατὰ τὰ κέρατα ἄγων, τὰ σκευοφόρα δὲ κατόπιν ἐπιτάξας ἕπεσθαι· τοὺς δὲ προκατασκεψομένους τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἦγεν αὐτῷ Ἡγέλοχος, ἱππέας μὲν ἔχων τοὺς σαρισσοφόρους, τῶν δὲ ψιλῶν ἐς πεντακοσίους.
2 Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρός τε οὐ πολὺ ἀπεῖχεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Γρανικοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν σκοπῶν σπουδῇ ἐλαύνοντες ἀπήγγελλον ἐπὶ τῷ Γρανικῷ πέραν τοὺς Πέρσας ἐφεστάναι τεταγμένους ὡς ἐς μάχην. Ἔνθα δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν συνέταττεν ὡς μαχουμένους. Παρμενίων δὲ προσελθὼν λέγει Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τάδε·
3 "Ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, βασιλεῦ, ἀγαθὸν εἶναι ἐν τῷ

having been reported, Memnon of Rhodes advised them to run no risk of war with the Macedonians, who were far their superiors in infantry, especially with Alexander actually on the spot, while Dareius was far away from them; they had far best advance, destroying the fodder, by trampling it with their cavalry, and burning the growing crops, not sparing even their cities. For Alexander would not then stay in the country for want of provisions. Arsites, however, is reported to have said in the Persian Council that he would not suffer one house belonging to his men to be burned: the Persians supported Arsites, having suspicions of Memnon, thinking that he was delaying warlike operations for the sake of the office he held from the king.

XIII. Meanwhile, Alexander was advancing to the river Granicus with his force all ready for battle, having doubled his phalanx of the men-at-arms, with the cavalry on the wings, and ordering the transport to follow behind the scouts and reconnoitring parties which Hegelochus led, with the lancers, and five hundred light troops. Alexander was not far from the river Granicus, when the scouts, riding in at full speed, reported that the Persians were arrayed for battle on the farther side of the Granicus. Alexander then formed battle order; and Parmenio came forward and said:

"My view, sir, is that we should encamp at once

παρόντι καταστρατοπεδεῦσαι ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῇ ὄχθῃ ὡς ἔχομεν. Τοὺς γὰρ πολεμίους οὐ δοκῶ τολμήσειν πολὺ τῶν πεζῶν λειπομένους πλησίον ἡμῶν αὐλισθῆναι, καὶ ταύτῃ παρέξειν ἕωθεν εὐπετῶς τῷ στρατῷ διαβαλεῖν τὸν πόρον· ὑποφθάσομεν γὰρ αὐτοὶ περάσαντες πρὶν ἐκεί-
4 *νους ἐς τάξιν καθίστασθαι. Νῦν δὲ οὐκ ἀκινδύνως μοι δοκοῦμεν ἐπιχειρήσειν τῷ ἔργῳ, ὅτι οὐχ οἷόν τε ἐν μετώπῳ διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἄγειν τὸν στρατόν. Πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ ὁρᾶται βαθέα, αἱ δὲ ὄχθαι αὗται ὁρᾷς ὅτι ὑπερύψηλοι καὶ*
5 *κρημνώδεις εἰσὶν αἳ αὐτῶν· ἀτάκτως τε οὖν καὶ κατὰ κέρας, ᾗπερ ἀσθενέστατον, ἐκβαίνουσιν ἐπικείσονται ἐς φάλαγγα ξυντεταγμένοι τῶν πολεμίων οἱ ἱππεῖς· καὶ τὸ πρῶτον σφάλμα ἔς τε τὰ παρόντα χαλεπὸν καὶ ἐς τὴν ὑπὲρ παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου κρίσιν σφαλερόν."*

6 Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, "Ταῦτα *μέν, ἔφη, ὦ Παρμενίων, γιγνώσκω· αἰσχύνομαι δέ, εἰ τὸν μὲν Ἑλλήσποντον διέβην εὐπετῶς, τοῦτο δέ, σμικρὸν ῥεῦμα (οὕτω τῷ ὀνόματι τὸν Γρανικὸν ἐκφαυλίσας), εἴρξει ἡμᾶς τοῦ μὴ οὐ διαβῆναι*
7 *ὡς ἔχομεν. Καὶ τοῦτο οὔτε πρὸς Μακεδόνων τῆς δόξης οὔτε πρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους ὀξύτητος ποιοῦμαι· ἀναθαρρήσειν δὲ δοκῶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὡς ἀξιομάχους Μακεδόσιν ὄντας, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄξιον τοῦ σφῶν δέους ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα ἔπαθον."*

XIV. Ταῦτα *εἰπὼν Παρμενίωνα μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας πέμπει ἡγησόμενον, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν παρῆγεν. Προετάχθησαν δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ Φιλώτας ὁ Παρμενίωνος, ἔχων τοὺς*

on the river bank, as we are; the enemy, I believe, being outnumbered in infantry, will not dare to bivouac near us; and hence we can easily cross at dawn; and we shall be across before they get into order. As things are, I feel that we should run great risk in taking action, since we cannot take an army across a river on a wide front, for one can see that there are many deep parts of the river; its banks, as you see, are very high, sometimes like cliffs. As we emerge in disorder and in deployed order, the weakest of formations, the enemy cavalry in good solid order will charge: the first disaster would be grievous at the present, and most harmful for the general result of the war."

Alexander, however, replied: "This I know, Parmenio, but I should feel ashamed if after our crossing so easily the Hellespont, this petty stream (so disrespectfully did he speak of the Granicus) shall hinder us from crossing, just as we are. This I consider unworthy either of the prestige of the Macedonians or of my own swift dealing with danger; I believe the Persians would pluck up courage, thinking themselves as good fighters as the Macedonians, since up to the present they have not experienced anything to cause them alarm."

XIV. So spake Alexander; and at once sent off Parmenio to lead the left wing; he himself passed along to the right. As commander of the right he had already appointed Philotas son of Parmenio,

ἑταίρους τοὺς ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς
Ἀγριᾶνας τοὺς ἀκοντιστάς· Ἀμύντας δὲ ὁ Ἀρρα-
βαίου τούς τε σαρισσοφόρους ἱππέας ἔχων Φιλώ-
τα ἐπετάχθη καὶ τοὺς Παίονας καὶ τὴν ἴλην τὴν
2 Σωκράτους. Ἐχόμενοι δὲ τούτων ἐτάχθησαν οἱ
ὑπασπισταὶ τῶν ἑταίρων, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Νικάνωρ ὁ
Παρμενίωνος· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἡ Περδίκκου τοῦ
Ὀρόντου φάλαγξ· ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Κοίνου τοῦ Πολε-
μοκράτους· ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Κρατέρου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου·
ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Ἀμύντου τοῦ Ἀνδρομένους· ἐπὶ δὲ ὧν
3 Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου ἦρχε. Τοῦ δὲ εὐωνύμου
πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ Θετταλοὶ ἱππεῖς ἐτάχθησαν, ὧν
ἡγεῖτο Κάλας ὁ Ἁρπάλου· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ
ξύμμαχοι ἱππεῖς, ὧν ἦρχε Φίλιππος ὁ Μενελάου·
ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ Θρᾷκες, ὧν ἦρχεν Ἀγάθων·
ἐχόμενοι δὲ τούτων πεζοὶ ἥ τε Κρατέρου φάλαγξ
καὶ ἡ Μελεάγρου καὶ ἡ Φιλίππου ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ
μέσον τῆς ξυμπάσης τάξεως.

4 Περσῶν δὲ ἱππεῖς μὲν ἦσαν ἐς δισμυρίους,
ξένοι δὲ πεζοὶ μισθοφόροι ὀλίγον ἀποδέοντες
δισμυρίων· ἐτάχθησαν δὲ τὴν μὲν ἵππον παρα-
τείναντες τῷ ποταμῷ κατὰ τὴν ὄχθην ἐπὶ φάλαγγα
μακράν, τοὺς δὲ πεζοὺς κατόπιν τῶν ἱππέων·
καὶ γὰρ ὑπερδέξια ἦν τὰ ὑπὲρ τὴν ὄχθην χωρία.
Ἧι δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸν καθεώρων (δῆλος γὰρ
ἦν τῶν τε ὅπλων τῇ λαμπρότητι καὶ τῶν ἀμφ'
αὐτὸν τῇ σὺν ἐκπλήξει θεραπείᾳ) κατὰ τὸ
εὐώνυμον σφῶν ἐπέχοντα, ταύτῃ πυκνὰς ἐπέταξαν
τῇ ὄχθῃ τὰς ἴλας τῶν ἵππων.

5 Χρόνον μὲν δὴ ἀμφότερα τὰ στρατεύματα ἐπ'
ἄκρου τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐφεστῶτες ὑπὸ τοῦ τὸ μέλλον
ὀκνεῖν ἡσυχίαν ἦγον καὶ σιγὴ ἦν πολλὴ ἀφ'

with the territorial cavalry, the archers, and the Agrianes, javelin-men. To Philotas was attached Amyntas son of Arrabaeus, with the lancers, the Paeonians, and Socrates' squadron. Next to them were marshalled the territorial guards, led by Nicanor son of Parmenio; beside these was the phalanx of Perdiccas son of Orontes; also that of Coenus son of Polemocrates; and those of Craterus son of Alexander, Amyntas son of Andromenes, and the troops under Philip son of Amyntas. On the left wing came first the Thessalian cavalry, commanded by Cales son of Harpalus; next the allied cavalry, under Philip son of Menelaus, then the Thracians, under Agetho; on their right were the infantry, the phalanx of Craterus, of Meleager, of Philip, up to the centre of the whole force.

The Persians had about 20,000 cavalry, and little short of the same number of infantry, foreign mercenaries. Their disposition was, the cavalry drawn up parallel to the river, and thus making an extended phalanx; the infantry behind them; the land above the bank was high and commanding. Where they perceived Alexander himself—you could not mistake him, from the splendour of his equipment and the obsequious attendance of his suite—opposite their left wing, they massed here on the bank their cavalry squadrons.

For some time the two forces, on the river's brink, dreading to precipitate the event, remained at ease,

ἑκατέρων. Οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι προσέμενον τοὺς Μακεδόνας, ὁπότε ἐσβήσονται ἐς τὸν πόρον, ὡς ἐπικεισό-
6 μενοι ἐκβαίνουσιν· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἀναπηδήσας ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ᾽ αὑτὸν ἐγκελευσάμενος ἕπεσθαί τε καὶ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γίνεσθαι, τοὺς μὲν προδρόμους ἱππέας καὶ μὴν καὶ τοὺς Παίονας προεμβαλεῖν ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἔχοντα Ἀμύνταν τὸν Ἀρραβαίου καὶ τῶν πεζῶν μίαν τάξιν, καὶ πρὸ τούτων τὴν Σωκράτους ἴλην Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Φιλίππου ἄγοντα, ᾗ δὴ καὶ ἐτύγχανε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ ἱππικοῦ παντὸς ἔχουσα ἐν ἐκείνῃ
7 τῇ ἡμέρᾳ· αὐτὸς δὲ ἄγων τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ὑπὸ σαλπίγγων τε καὶ τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ ἀλαλάζοντας ἐμβαίνει ἐς τὸν πόρον, λοξὴν ἀεὶ παρατείνων τὴν τάξιν ᾗ παρεῖλκε τὸ ῥεῦμα, ἵνα δὴ μὴ ἐκβαίνοντι αὐτῷ οἱ Πέρσαι κατὰ κέρας προσπίπτοιεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς ἀνυστὸν τῇ φάλαγγι προσμίξῃ αὐτοῖς.

XV. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι, ᾗ πρῶτοι οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἀμύνταν καὶ Σωκράτην προσέσχον τῇ ὄχθῃ, ταύτῃ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄνωθεν ἔβαλλον, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄχθης ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐσακοντίζοντες, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὰ χθαμαλώτερα αὐτῆς ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ
2 καταβαίνοντες. Καὶ ἦν τῶν τε ἱππέων ὠθισμός, τῶν μὲν ἐκβαίνειν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τῶν δ᾽ εἴργειν τὴν ἔκβασιν, καὶ παλτῶν ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν Περσῶν πολλὴ ἄφεσις, οἱ Μακεδόνες δὲ ξὺν τοῖς δόρασιν ἐμάχοντο. Ἀλλὰ τῷ τε πλήθει πολὺ ἐλαττούμενοι οἱ Μακεδόνες ἐκακοπάθουν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ προσβολῇ, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐξ ἀβεβαίου τε καὶ ἅμα κάτωθεν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀμυνόμενοι, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου τῆς ὄχθης, ἄλλως τε καὶ

and in deep silence. The Persians awaited the Macedonians, to fall on them emerging from the river, so soon as they should attempt the crossing; but Alexander flung himself on to his horse, and calling on his suite to follow and show themselves brave men and true, he advanced his first line of scouts and the Paeonians into the stream, under command of Amyntas son of Arrabaeus, and also one file of the infantry; before these he sends Socrates' squadron, Ptolemy son of Philip commanding; this was on the list as leading cavalry squadron for that day; then he himself leading the right wing—bugles sounding, and the battle cry going up to the God of Battles—boldly takes to the stream, inclining his troops obliquely to the current, so that the Persians should not fall on him in extended front, but that he himself might attack them, as far as might be, in close order.

XV. The Persians, at the point where their vanguard, under Amyntas and Socrates, held the river bank, shot their volleys from above, some hurling their javelins from their commanding position a little removed from the bank, others on the more level ground, or even advancing down to the stream. There was a great scrimmage of the cavalry, the Greeks trying to land, the Persians to stop them; great showers of Persian javelins; much thrusting of Macedonian spears. But the Macedonians, much outnumbered, came off badly in the first onslaught; they were insecure, and below, the enemy on a strong position above; besides, the flower of the Persian

τὸ κράτιστον τῆς Περσικῆς ἵππου ταύτῃ ἐπετέτακτο, οἵ τε Μέμνονος παῖδες καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Μέμνων
3 μετὰ τούτων ἐκινδύνευε. Καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι τῶν Μακεδόνων ξυμμίξαντες τοῖς Πέρσαις κατεκόπησαν πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι, ὅσοι γε μὴ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον πελάζοντα ἀπέκλιναν αὐτῶν. Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ ἤδη πλησίον ἦν, ἅμα οἷ ἄγων τὸ κέρας τὸ δεξιόν, καὶ ἐμβάλλει ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας πρῶτος ἵνα τὸ πᾶν στῖφος τῆς ἵππου καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν Περσῶν τεταγμένοι ἦσαν· καὶ
4 περὶ αὐτὸν ξυνειστήκει μάχη καρτερά· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἄλλαι ἐπ' ἄλλαις τῶν τάξεων τοῖς Μακεδόσι διέβαινον οὐ χαλεπῶς ἤδη. Καὶ ἦν μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ἡ μάχη, πεζομαχίᾳ δὲ μᾶλλόν τι ἐῴκει. Ξυνεχόμενοι γὰρ ἵπποι τε ἵπποις καὶ ἄνδρες ἀνδράσιν ἠγωνίζοντο, οἱ μὲν ἐξῶσαι εἰς ἅπαν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄχθης καὶ ἐς τὸ πεδίον βιάσασθαι
5 τοὺς Πέρσας, οἱ Μακεδόνες, οἱ δὲ εἶρξαί τε αὐτῶν τὴν ἔκβασιν, οἱ Πέρσαι, καὶ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν αὖθις ἀπώσασθαι. Καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐπλεονέκτουν ἤδη οἱ σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῇ τε ἄλλῃ ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐμπειρίᾳ καὶ ὅτι ξυστοῖς κρανείνοις πρὸς παλτὰ ἐμάχοντο.
6 Ἔνθα δὴ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ξυντρίβεται τὸ δόρυ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ· ὁ δὲ Ἄρετιν ᾔτει δόρυ ἕτερον, ἀναβολέα τῶν βασιλικῶν· τῷ δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ πονουμένῳ συντετριμμένον τὸ δόρυ ἦν, ὁ δὲ τῷ ἡμίσει κεκλασμένου τοῦ δόρατος οὐκ ἀφανῶς ἐμάχετο, καὶ τοῦτο δείξας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἄλλον αἰτεῖν ἐκέλευε· Δημάρατος δέ, ἀνὴρ Κορίνθιος, τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἑταίρων, δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὸ αὑτοῦ
7 δόρυ. Καὶ ὃς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ ἰδὼν Μιθριδάτην

cavalry was posted at the landing, Memnon's sons and Memnon himself bearing the brunt along with them. The first of the Macedonians came into conflict with the Persians and were cut down, after prodigies of valour, all to a man, save those who fell back on Alexander as he approached. For he was already near, leading on the right wing, and he charged the Persians, himself the first to attack, just where was the press of cavalry and where the Persian commanders were posted. A fierce fight raged about him; and meanwhile the Macedonians, line after line, kept crossing, a task now not so difficult. It was a cavalry struggle, though on infantry lines; horse pressed against horse, man against man, wrestling one with another, Greeks trying to push, once for all, the Persians from the bank and force them on to the level ground, the Persians trying to bar their landing and hurl them back into the river. Already, however, Alexander and his guards were getting the best of it, not only through their forcefulness and their discipline, but because they were fighting with stout cornel-wood lances against short javelins.

In the mellay Alexander's lance was broken; he called on Aretis, one of the royal aides, for another; but Aretis had also broken his lance, and was hard pressed, though putting up a brave fight with the half of his broken weapon. Showing this to Alexander he cried out to him to call upon another aide, but Demaratus, of Corinth, one of Alexander's squires, gave him his own lance. Alexander grasping it and seeing Mithridates, son-in-law of Dareius,

τὸν Δαρείου γαμβρὸν πολὺ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων
προϊππεύοντα καὶ ἐπάγοντα ἅμα οἳ ὥσπερ
ἔμβολον τῶν ἱππέων, ἐξελαύνει καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸ
τῶν ἄλλων· καὶ παίσας ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον τῷ
δόρατι καταβάλλει τὸν Μιθριδάτην. Ἐν δὲ
τούτῳ Ῥοισάκης μὲν ἐπελαύνει τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
καὶ παίει Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν κεφαλὴν τῇ κοπίδι·
καὶ τοῦ μὲν κράνους τι ἀπέθραυσε, τὴν πληγὴν
8 δὲ ἔσχε τὸ κράνος. Καὶ καταβάλλει καὶ
τοῦτον Ἀλέξανδρος παίσας τῷ ξυστῷ διὰ τοῦ
θώρακος ἐς τὸ στέρνον. Σπιθριδάτης δὲ ἀνετέ-
τατο μὲν ἤδη ἐπ' Ἀλέξανδρον ὄπισθεν τὴν
κοπίδα, ὑποφθάσας δὲ αὐτὸν Κλεῖτος ὁ Δρωπίδου
παίει κατὰ τοῦ ὤμου καὶ ἀποκόπτει τὸν ὦμον
τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου ξὺν τῇ κοπίδι· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ
ἐπεκβαίνοντες ἀεὶ τῶν ἱππέων ὅσοις προὐχώρει
κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν προσεγίγνοντο τοῖς ἀμφ'
Ἀλέξανδρον.

XVI. Καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι παιόμενοί τε πανταχόθεν
ἤδη ἐς τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτοί τε καὶ οἱ ἵπποι τοῖς
ξυστοῖς καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἱππέων ἐξωθούμενοι, πολλὰ
δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ψιλῶν ἀναμεμιγμένων τοῖς
ἱππεῦσι βλαπτόμενοι, ἐγκλίνουσι ταύτῃ πρῶτον
ᾗ Ἀλέξανδρος προεκινδύνευεν. Ὡς δὲ τὸ μέσον
ἐνεδεδώκει αὐτοῖς, παρερρήγνυτο δὴ καὶ τὰ ἐφ'
ἑκάτερα τῆς ἵππου, καὶ ἦν δὴ φυγὴ καρτερά.
2 Τῶν μὲν δὴ ἱππέων τῶν Περσῶν ἀπέθανον ἐς
χιλίους. Οὐ γὰρ πολλὴ ἡ δίωξις ἐγένετο, ὅτι
ἐξετράπη Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τοὺς ξένους τοὺς
μισθοφόρους· ὧν τὸ στῖφος ᾗ τὸ πρῶτον ἐτάχθη
ἐκπλήξει μᾶλλόν τι τοῦ παραλόγου ἢ λογισμῷ
βεβαίῳ ἔμενε. Καὶ τούτοις τήν τε φάλαγγα

riding far ahead of the line and leading on a body of horse, formed in wedge shape, charges forth in advance of his men, thrusts his lance into Mithridates' face and hurls him to the ground. But Rhoesaces rode at Alexander, and smote him on the head with his cleaver; he sheared off part of the helmet, but still the helmet parried the blow. Alexander hurled him also to the ground, piercing with his lance through the cuirass into his breast. Spithridates had already raised his scimitar to cut down Alexander, but Cleitus son of Dropides, smartly slipping in, drove at Spithridates' shoulder with his cleaver and shore it off; and now those of the cavalry who had made good their way on the river bank kept coming up and joining the little band round Alexander.

XVI. The Persians were now being roughly handled from all quarters; they and their horses being struck in the face with lances; they were driven in front of the cavalry, and were much inconvenienced by the light troops, who became confused with the cavalry; and so they began to give way, first at the very point where Alexander was bearing the brunt of the affray. But when their centre began to sag, then the cavalry wings also were pierced, and they turned to flight in earnest. Upwards of a thousand Persian horsemen perished; for there was not much pursuit, since Alexander turned against the foreign mercenary troops. The mass of these stood their ground, rather rooted to the spot by the unexpected catastrophe than from serious resolution. Bringing his phalanx to bear on them and bidding the cavalry

ἐπαγαγὼν καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας πάντῃ προσπεσεῖν
κελεύσας, ἐν μέσῳ δι' ὀλίγου κατακόπτει αὐτούς,
ὥστε διέφυγε μὲν οὐδείς, ὅτι μὴ διέλαθέ τις ἐν
τοῖς νεκροῖς, ἐζωγρήθησαν δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισχι-
3 λίους. Ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν Περσῶν
Νιφάτης τε καὶ Πετίνης καὶ Σπιθριδάτης ὁ
Λυδίας σατράπης, καὶ ὁ τῶν Καππαδόκων
ὕπαρχος Μιθροβουζάνης καὶ Μιθριδάτης ὁ τοῦ
Δαρείου γαμβρὸς καὶ Ἀρβουπάλης ὁ Δαρείου
τοῦ Ἀρταξέρξου παῖς καὶ Φαρνάκης (ἀδελφὸς
οὗτος τῆς Δαρείου γυναικός), καὶ ὁ τῶν ξένων
ἡγεμὼν Ὠμάρης. Ἀρσίτης δὲ ἐκ μὲν τῆς μάχης
φεύγει ἐς Φρυγίαν, ἐκεῖ δὲ ἀποθνήσκει αὐτὸς πρὸς
αὐτοῦ, ὡς ὁ λόγος, ὅτι αἴτιος ἐδόκει Πέρσαις
γενέσθαι τοῦ ἐν τῷ τότε πταίσματος.
4 Μακεδόνων δὲ τῶν μὲν ἑταίρων ἀμφὶ τοὺς
εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ προσβολῇ ἀπέ-
θανον· καὶ τούτων χαλκαῖ εἰκόνες ἐν Δίῳ ἑστᾶ-
σιν, Ἀλεξάνδρου κελεύσαντος Λύσιππον ποιῆσαι,
ὅσπερ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον μόνος προκριθεὶς ἐποίει·
τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἱππέων ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἑξήκοντα, πεζοὶ
5 δὲ ἐς τοὺς τριάκοντα. Καὶ τούτους τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ
ἔθαψεν Ἀλέξανδρος ξὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις τε καὶ
ἄλλῳ κόσμῳ· γονεῦσι δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ παισὶ τῶν τε
κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἀτέλειαν ἔδωκε καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι
ἢ τῷ σώματι λειτουργίαι ἢ κατὰ τὰς κτήσεις
ἑκάστων εἰσφοραί. Καὶ τῶν τετρωμένων δὲ
πολλὴν πρόνοιαν ἔσχεν, ἐπελθών τε αὐτὸς ἑκάσ-
τους καὶ τὰ τραύματα ἰδὼν καὶ ὅπως τις ἐτρώθη
ἐρόμενος καὶ ὅ τι πράττων εἰπεῖν τε καὶ ἀλαζο-
6 νεύσασθαί οἱ παρασχών. Ὁ δὲ καὶ τῶν Περσῶν
τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἔθαψεν· ἔθαψε δὲ καὶ τοὺς μισθο-

fall on them from all quarters, he hemmed them in and soon massacred them; not one escaped—unless perhaps a few slipped through among the dead—and some two thousand were taken prisoners. Of Persian commanders there fell Niphates, Petines, Spithridates, satrap of Lydia, Mithrobuzanes the Cappadocian commandant, Mithridates, son-in-law of Dareius, Arbupales son of Dareius, son of Artaxerxes, and Pharnaces, brother of Dareius' queen, and Omares, commander of the foreign troops. Arsites fled from the battle into Phrygia and there, it is said, died by his own hand, because the blame of the Persian failure seemed to lie at his door.

Of the Macedonians, among the territorial troops, about twenty-five fell in the first shock. Brazen statues of them have been set up at Dium; Alexander gave the order to Lysippus, who out of a crowd of competitors had cast the statue of Alexander himself. Of the rest of the cavalry more than sixty perished, and about thirty infantry. All these Alexander buried next day with their arms and other accoutrements; to their parents and children he gave remission of local taxes and of all other personal services and property taxes. He showed much concern about the wounded, visiting each, examining their wounds, asking how they were received, and encouraging each to recount, and even boast of, his exploits. He buried also the Persian commanders

φόρους Ἕλληνας, οἳ ξὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις στρατευοντες ἀπέθανον· ὅσους δὲ αὐτῶν αἰχμαλώτους ἔλαβε, τούτους δήσας ἐν πέδαις ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἀπέπεμψεν ἐργάζεσθαι, ὅτι παρὰ τὰ κοινῇ δόξαντα τοῖς Ἕλλησιν Ἕλληνες ὄντες ἐναντία τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὑπὲρ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐμάχοντο.
7 Ἀποπέμπει δὲ καὶ εἰς Ἀθήνας τριακοσίας πανοπλίας Περσικὰς ἀνάθημα εἶναι τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἐν πόλει· καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπιγραφῆναι ἐκέλευσε τόδε· Ἀλέξανδρος Φιλίππου καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικούντων.

XVII. Καταστήσας δὲ Κάλαν σατραπεύειν ἧς Ἀρσίτης ἦρχε καὶ τοὺς φόρους τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀποφέρειν τάξας οὕσπερ Δαρείῳ ἔφερον, ὅσοι μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων κατιόντες ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐνεχείριζον σφᾶς, τούτους μὲν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι ἐπὶ τὰ αὑτῶν
2 ἑκάστους ἐκέλευε· Ζελείτας δὲ ἀφῆκε τῆς αἰτίας, ὅτι πρὸς βίαν ἔγνω συστρατεῦσαι τοῖς βαρβάροις· Δασκύλιον δὲ παραληψόμενον Παρμενίωνα ἐκπέμπει· καὶ παραλαμβάνει Δασκύλιον Παρμενίων ἐκλιπόντων τῶν φρουρῶν.

3 Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Σάρδεων προὐχώρει· καὶ ἀπέχοντος αὐτοῦ ὅσον ἑβδομήκοντα σταδίους Σάρδεων, ἧκον παρ᾽ αὐτὸν Μιθρίνης τε ὁ φρούραρχος τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τῆς ἐν Σάρδεσι καὶ Σαρδιανῶν οἱ δυνατώτατοι, ἐνδιδόντες οἱ μὲν τὴν πόλιν, ὁ δὲ
4 Μιθρίνης τὴν ἄκραν καὶ τὰ χρήματα. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἕρμῳ ποταμῷ· ἀπέχει δὲ ὁ Ἕρμος ἀπὸ Σάρδεων σταδίους ὅσον εἴκοσιν· Ἀμύνταν δὲ τὸν Ἀνδρομένους τὴν ἄκραν παραληψόμενον ἐκπέμπει ἐς

and the mercenary Greeks who fell in the ranks of the foe; such as he captured, he handcuffed and sent to Macedonia to hard labour, because they had violated Greek public opinion by fighting with Orientals against Greeks. He sent to Athens three hundred Persian panoplies as an offering to Athena of Athens; he had this inscription attached: Alexander son of Philip and the Greeks, save Lacedaemonians, these spoils from the Persians in Asia.

XVII. Alexander then made Calas satrap of the satrapy which Arsites had held, ordering the inhabitants to pay the same taxes as they used to pay to Dareius; such of the natives as came down from the hills and gave themselves up he bade return to their homes. The city Zeleia he exempted from blame, knowing that they had been impressed to fight with the Persians. He sent Parmenio also to take over Dascylion, and this he duly did—the guards having evacuated the place.

Then Alexander marched towards Sardes; and when he was still about seventy stades away there came to him Mithrines, commander of the Acropolis guard, and with him the chief citizens of Sardes; these gave up the city, and Mithrines the fortress and the treasure. Alexander himself camped on the Hermus river; this river runs about twenty stades from Sardes; but he sent Amyntas, son of Andromenes, to Sardes to take over the fortress;

Σάρδεις· καὶ Μιθρίνην μὲν ἐν τιμῇ ἅμα οἷ ἦγε,
Σαρδιανοὺς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Λυδοὺς τοῖς
νόμοις τε τοῖς πάλαι Λυδῶν χρῆσθαι ἔδωκε καὶ
5 ἐλευθέρους εἶναι ἀφῆκεν. Ἀνῆλθε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς
εἰς τὴν ἄκραν, ἵνα τὸ φρούριον ἦν τῶν Περσῶν·
καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ὀχυρὸν τὸ χωρίον· ὑπερύψηλόν
τε γὰρ ἦν καὶ ἀπότομον πάντῃ καὶ τριπλῷ τείχει
πεφραγμένον· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἄκρᾳ ναόν τε
οἰκοδομῆσαι Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἐπενόει καὶ βωμὸν
6 ἱδρύσασθαι. Σκοποῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς ἄκρας ὅπερ
ἐπιτηδειότατον χωρίον, ὥρᾳ ἔτους ἐξαίφνης
χειμὼν ἐπιγίγνεται καὶ βρονταὶ σκληραί, καὶ
ὕδωρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πίπτει οὗ τὰ τῶν Λυδῶν
βασίλεια· Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ ἔδοξεν ἐκ θεοῦ σημαν-
θῆναι ἵνα χρὴ οἰκοδομεῖσθαι τῷ Διὶ τὸν νεών, καὶ
7 οὕτως ἐκέλευσε. Κατέλιπε δὲ τῆς μὲν ἄκρας
τῆς Σάρδεων ἐπιμελητὴν Παυσανίαν τῶν ἑταίρων·
τῶν δὲ φόρων τῆς συντάξεώς τε καὶ ἀποφορᾶς
Νικίαν· Ἄσανδρον δὲ τὸν Φιλώτα Λυδίας καὶ τῆς
ἄλλης τῆς Σπιθριδάτου ἀρχῆς, δοὺς αὐτῷ ἱππέας
τε καὶ ψιλοὺς ὅσοι ἱκανοὶ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα ἐδόκουν.
8 Κάλαν δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀερόπου ἐπὶ τὴν
χώραν τὴν Μέμνονος ἐκπέμπει, ἄγοντας τούς τε
Πελοποννησίους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων τοὺς
πολλοὺς πλὴν Ἀργείων· οὗτοι δὲ ἐν Σάρδεσι
κατελείφθησαν τὴν ἄκραν φυλάττειν.

9 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὡς τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἱππομαχίας
ἐξηγγέλθη, οἵ τε τὴν Ἔφεσον φρουροῦντες
μισθοφόροι ᾤχοντο φεύγοντες, δύο τριήρεις τῶν
Ἐφεσίων λαβόντες, καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς Ἀμύντας ὁ
Ἀντιόχου, ὃς ἔφυγεν ἐκ Μακεδονίας Ἀλέξανδρον,
παθὼν μὲν οὐδὲν πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου, δυσνοίᾳ δὲ

Mithrines he took with him, with the honours of his rank; but the Sardians and the other Lydians he permitted to follow the old Lydian customs, and sent them away free. Alexander himself ascended to the fortress, where was the Persian garrison; he formed no mean opinion of the strength of the position, which was very high, sheer, and fortified all round with a triple wall. Alexander was minded to build a temple on the height to Olympian Zeus, and to set up an altar near it. But as he was surveying the height for the best place, suddenly (it was summer-time) there brake a storm, with heavy crashes of thunder, and violent rain, just over the palace of the Lydian kings; from this Alexander supposed that here was a divine intimation where he must build the temple to Zeus, and so he gave orders accordingly. He left as commandant of the fortress Pausanias, a territorial officer; Nicias became overseer of the taxes, contributions, and tribute, and Asandrus, son of Philotas, governor of Lydia and the rest of Spithridates' district; and to him he gave cavalry and light troops sufficient for present needs. Calas and Alexander son of Aeropus he sent to Memnon's country, with the Peloponnesians and the greater part of the allies except the Argives; they were left in Sardes to garrison the fortress.

9 Meanwhile, when the news of the cavalry engagement came through, the mercenary troops garrisoning Ephesus fled, with two Ephesian triremes, and along with them Amyntas son of Antiochus who had run away from Macedon to avoid Alexander; not that Alexander had done him any harm, but from a

τῇ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπαξιώσας τι
10 παθεῖν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἄχαρι. Τετάρτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ἐς
Ἔφεσον ἀφικόμενος τούς τε φυγάδας ὅσοι δι᾽
αὐτὸν ἐξέπεσον τῆς πόλεως κατήγαγε, καὶ τὴν
ὀλιγαρχίαν καταλύσας δημοκρατίαν κατέστησε·
τοὺς δὲ φόρους ὅσους τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀπέφερον
11 τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ξυντελεῖν ἐκέλευσεν. Ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ
τῶν Ἐφεσίων, ὡς ἀφῃρέθη αὐτοῖς ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν
ὀλίγων φόβος, τούς τε Μέμνονα ἐπαγαγομένους
καὶ τοὺς τὸ ἱερὸν συλήσαντας τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ
τοὺς τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Φιλίππου τὴν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ
καταβαλόντας καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς
ἀνορύξαντας τὸν Ἡροπύθου τοῦ ἐλευθερώσαντος
12 τὴν πόλιν, ὥρμησαν ἀποκτεῖναι. Καὶ Σύρφακα
μὲν καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Πελάγοντα καὶ τοὺς
τῶν ἀδελφῶν τοῦ Σύρφακος παῖδας ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ
ἐξαγαγόντες κατέλευσαν· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους διεκώ-
λυσεν Ἀλέξανδρος προσωτέρω ἐπιζητεῖν καὶ
τιμωρεῖσθαι, γνοὺς ὅτι ὁμοῦ τοῖς αἰτίοις καὶ οὐ
ξὺν δίκῃ τινάς, τοὺς μὲν κατ᾽ ἔχθραν, τοὺς δὲ
κατὰ ἁρπαγὴν χρημάτων ἀποκτενεῖ, ξυγχωρηθὲν
13 αὐτῷ, ὁ δῆμος. Καὶ εἰ δή τῳ ἄλλῳ, καὶ τοῖς ἐν
Ἐφέσῳ πραχθεῖσιν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τῷ τότε
εὐδοκίμει.

XVIII. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐκ Μαγνησίας τε καὶ Τράλλεων παρ᾽ αὐτὸν ἧκον ἐνδιδόντες τὰς πόλεις· καὶ ὃς πέμπει Παρμενίωνα, δοὺς αὐτῷ δισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους πεζοὺς τῶν ξένων καὶ Μακεδόνας παραπλησίους, ἱππέας δὲ τῶν ἑταίρων ἐς διακοσίους. Ἀλκίμαχον δὲ τὸν Ἀγαθοκλέους ἐπὶ τὰς Αἰολίδας τε πόλεις ξὺν δυνάμει οὐκ ἐλάττονι ἐξέπεμψε καὶ ὅσαι Ἰωνικαὶ ὑπὸ τοῖς

general dislike towards Alexander and a disinclination to undergo any disagreeable discomfort at his hands. Alexander reached Ephesus on the fourth day, brought back any exiles who had been turned out of the city on his account, and breaking up the oligarchy restored the democracy; he also bade them contribute to the Temple of Artemis such taxes as they had been paying to the Persians. So the Ephesian people, being now relieved from fear of the oligarchs, promptly put to death all those who had called in Memnon, those who had ransacked the Temple of Artemis, and those who had thrown down the statue of Philip in the Temple and had dug up in the market-place the tomb of Heropythes the liberator of the city. Syrphax, his son Pelagon, and the children of the brothers of Syrphax they drew forth from the temple and stoned; but Alexander prevented further inquisition or punishment, knowing that once permission was given the people would put to death, together with the guilty, certain others, some from hatred, and some for plunder of their goods. Seldom did Alexander win greater popularity than he did by his treatment of Ephesus.

XVIII. About this time came representatives of Magnesia and Tralles to Alexander to hand over their cities; so he sent Parmenio with 2500 allied infantry and as many Macedonians, and 200 territorial horse. He sent also Alkimachus son of Agathocles, with an equal force, to the Aeolian cities and to any Ionian towns still subject to Persia.

2 βαρβάροις ἔτι ἦσαν. Καὶ τὰς μὲν ὀλιγαρχίας πανταχοῦ καταλύειν ἐκέλευσε, δημοκρατίας δέ[1] ἐγκαθιστάναι καὶ τοὺς νόμους τοὺς σφῶν ἑκάστοις ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ τοὺς φόρους ἀνεῖναι ὅσους τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀπέφερον. Αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπομείνας ἐν Ἐφέσῳ θυσίαν τε ἔθυσε τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ πομπὴν ἔπεμψε ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάσῃ ὡπλισμένῃ τε καὶ ὡς ἐς μάχην ξυντεταγμένῃ.

3 Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀναλαβὼν τῶν τε πεζῶν τοὺς λοιποὺς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τοὺς Θρᾷκας ἱππέας καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων τήν τε βασιλικὴν ἴλην καὶ πρὸς ταύτῃ τρεῖς ἄλλας ἐπὶ Μιλήτου ἐστέλλετο· καὶ τὴν μὲν ἔξω καλουμένην πόλιν ἐξ ἐφόδου ἔλαβεν ἐκλιπούσης τῆς φυλακῆς· ἐνταῦθα δὲ καταστρατοπεδεύσας ἔγνω ἀποτει-
4 χίζειν τὴν εἴσω πόλιν. Ἡγησίστρατος γάρ, ὅτῳ ἡ φρουρὰ ἡ Μιλησίων ἐκ βασιλέως ἐπετέτραπτο, πρόσθεν γράμματα παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἔπεμπεν ἐνδιδοὺς τὴν Μίλητον· τότε δὲ ἀναθαρρήσας ἐπὶ τῷ Περσῶν στρατῷ οὐ μακρὰν ὄντι, διασώζειν τοῖς Πέρσαις ἐπενόει τὴν πόλιν. Νικάνωρ δὲ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ναυτικὸν ἄγων ὑποφθάνει τοὺς Πέρσας τρισὶν ἡμέραις πρότερος καταπλεύσας ἢ τοὺς Πέρσας Μιλήτῳ προσσχεῖν, καὶ ὁρμίζεται ναυσὶν ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ Λάδῃ· κεῖται
5 δὲ αὕτη ἐπὶ τῇ Μιλήτῳ. Αἱ δὲ τῶν Περσῶν νῆες ὑστερήσασαι, ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθον οἱ ναύαρχοι τῶν ἀμφὶ Νικάνορα τὴν ἐν τῇ Λάδῃ προκαταγωγήν, πρὸς τῇ Μυκάλῃ τῷ ὄρει ὡρμίσθησαν. Τὴν γὰρ Λάδην τὴν νῆσον προκατειλήφει Ἀλέξανδρος, οὐ τῶν νεῶν μόνον τῇ ἐγκαθορμίσει, ἀλλὰ

[1] δέ τε Codices. Krüger deletes τε.

He ordered the oligarchies everywhere to be broken up, democracies to be established, each to have their own laws and to continue paying the same taxes as they had paid to the Persians. Alexander himself remained in Ephesus and sacrificed to Artemis and held a great procession with his troops armed cap-à-pie in full battle order.

Next day he took the remainder of the infantry and the archers and the Agrianes, with the Thracian horse, and the royal squadron of territorial cavalry, and three squadrons besides, and marched against Miletus. He captured in his stride what they called the Outer City—for the garrison had retired—and camping there he decided to invest the Inner City. For Hegesistratus, commandant, under Dareius, of the Milesian garrison, had anticipated matters by sending a letter to Alexander surrendering the city; but then, taking heart again, because the Persian force was no distance away, schemed to save the city for Persia. Nicanor, however, bringing up the Greek fleet, reached Miletus three days ahead of the Persians, and anchored at the island of Lade with 160 ships. Lade is over against Miletus. The Persian fleet were too late, and when their commanders learnt of Nicanor's arrival already at Lade, they anchored under Mount Mycale. For Alexander had by seizing Lade forestalled them, not only by anchoring his fleet there, but also by transporting

καὶ τοὺς Θρᾷκας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξένων ἐς τετρα-
κισχιλίους διαβιβάσας ἐς αὐτήν. Ἦσαν δὲ τῶν
βαρβάρων αἱ νῆες ἀμφὶ τὰς τετρακοσίας.
6 Παρμενίων μὲν δὴ καὶ ὣς παρῄνει Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
ναυμαχεῖν, τά τε ἄλλα κρατήσειν τῷ ναυτικῷ
τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐλπίζων καί τι καὶ θεῖον ἀνέπειθεν
αὐτόν, ὅτι ἀετὸς ὤφθη καθήμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ
κατὰ πρύμναν τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου νεῶν. Καὶ γὰρ
δὴ νικήσαντας μὲν μεγάλα ὠφεληθήσεσθαι ἐς
τὰ ὅλα, νικηθεῖσι δὲ οὐ παρὰ μέγα ἔσεσθαι τὸ
πταῖσμα· καὶ ὣς γὰρ θαλαττοκρατεῖν τοὺς
Πέρσας. Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ἔφη ἐπιβῆναι ἐθέλειν
7 τῶν νεῶν καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου μετέχειν. Ἀλέξ-
ανδρος δὲ τῇ τε γνώμῃ ἁμαρτάνειν ἔφη Παρμε-
νίωνα καὶ τοῦ σημείου τῇ οὐ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς
ξυμβλήσει· ὀλίγαις τε γὰρ ναυσὶ πρὸς πολλῷ
πλείους ξὺν οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ ναυμαχήσειν καὶ
οὐ μεμελετηκότι τῷ σφῶν ναυτικῷ πρὸς ἠσκη-
8 μένον[1] τὸ τῶν Κυπρίων τε καὶ Φοινίκων· τήν
τε ἐμπειρίαν τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ τὴν τόλμαν ἐν
ἀβεβαίῳ χωρίῳ[2] οὐκ ἐθέλειν παραδοῦναι τοῖς
βαρβάροις· καὶ ἡττηθεῖσι τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ οὐ μικρὰν
τὴν βλάβην ἔσεσθαι ἐς τοῦ πολέμου τὴν πρώτην
δόξαν, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας νεωτεριεῖν
πρὸς τοῦ ναυτικοῦ πταίσματος τὴν ἐξαγγελίαν
9 ἐπαρθέντας. Ταῦτα μὲν τῷ λογισμῷ ξυντιθεὶς
οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ ἀπέφαινε ναυμαχεῖν· τὸ θεῖον δὲ
αὐτὸς ἄλλῃ ἐξηγεῖσθαι· εἶναι μὲν γὰρ πρὸς
αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀετόν, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐπὶ γῆς καθήμενος

[1] προησκημένον Codices; Roos πρὸς προησκημένον.
[2] Krüger deletes χωρίῳ.

thither the Thracians and about 4000 of the other mercenaries. The Persian fleet was of about 400 sail.

Parmenio, notwithstanding, urged Alexander to attack, both because he expected the Greeks to win, and because of an omen; there had been seen an eagle perching on the shore astern of Alexander's vessels. If they won, he argued, it would be a great help to the expedition generally; a defeat would not be very serious; for even as things were the Persians held the supremacy at sea. He said that he was willing to embark himself and share all perils. Alexander, however, said that Parmenio's judgment was at fault; his interpretation of the omen not less so; it would be lunacy to fight a much greater fleet with an inferior one, and face the trained crews of the Cyprians and Phoenicians with his own, who had not yet completed their nautical exercises. He would not risk sacrificing the skill and courage of his Macedonians on so uncertain an element to the Persians; should they lose the engagement it would be a serious blow to their former warlike prestige, with the Greeks also ready to blaze into revolt at the first whisper of a naval defeat. Arguing thus he made clear that it was no time to fight; and declared that he interpreted the omen differently; for the eagle was indeed on his own side; but, since

ἐφαίνετο, δοκεῖν οἱ μᾶλλόν τι σημαίνειν ὅτι ἐκ γῆς κρατήσει τοῦ Περσῶν ναυτικοῦ.

XIX. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Γλαύκιππος, ἀνὴρ τῶν δοκίμων ἐν Μιλήτῳ, ἐκπεμφθεὶς παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τε καὶ τῶν ξένων τῶν μισθοφόρων, οἷς μᾶλλόν τι ἐπετέτραπτο ἡ πόλις, τά τε τείχη ἔφη ἐθέλειν τοὺς Μιλησίους καὶ τοὺς λιμένας παρέχειν κοινοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Πέρσαις· καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐπὶ τούτοις λύειν ἠξίου.
2 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ Γλαυκίππῳ μὲν προστάσσει ἀπαλλάττεσθαι κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ Μιλησίοις ἐπαγγέλλειν παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς μαχουμένους ἕωθεν. Αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἐπιστήσας τῷ τείχει μηχανάς, καὶ τὰ μὲν καταβαλὼν δι᾽ ὀλίγου τῶν τειχῶν, τὰ δὲ κατασείσας ἐπὶ πολὺ προσῆγε τὴν στρατιὰν ὡς ἐπιβησομένους ᾗ κατερήριπτο ἢ ἐσεσάλευτο τὸ τεῖχος, ἐφομαρτούντων καὶ μόνον οὐ θεωμένων τῶν Περσῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Μυκάλης πολιορκουμένους τοὺς φίλους σφῶν καὶ ξυμμάχους.
3 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Νικάνορα ἀπὸ τῆς Λάδης τὴν ὁρμὴν τῶν ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κατιδόντες ἐς τὸν λιμένα ἐπέπλεον τῶν Μιλησίων, παρὰ γῆν τὴν εἰρεσίαν ποιούμενοι, καὶ κατὰ τὸ στόμα τοῦ λιμένος ᾗπερ τὸ στενώτατον ἦν ἀντιπρῴρους βύζην τὰς τριήρεις ὁρμίσαντες ἀποκεκλείκεσαν τῷ μὲν Περσικῷ ναυτικῷ τὸν λιμένα, τοῖς Μιλησίοις δὲ τὴν ἐκ τῶν Περσῶν ὠφέλειαν.
4 Ἔνθα οἱ Μιλήσιοί τε καὶ οἱ μισθοφόροι, πανταχόθεν ἤδη προσκειμένων σφίσι τῶν Μακεδόνων, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ῥιπτοῦντες σφᾶς ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων ὑπτίων ἐς νησῖδά τινα ἀνώνυμον, τῇ πόλει ἐπικειμένην, διενήχοντο, οἱ δὲ

it was seen sitting on the land, it meant (he thought) that he would beat the Persian fleet from the land.

XIX. Meanwhile, Glaucippus, one of the notables of Miletus, was sent to Alexander by the people and the mercenaries, to whose care the city was chiefly entrusted, and declared that the citizens were prepared to open their walls and harbours to Alexander and the Persians in common; and he demanded on these stipulations that he should raise the siege. Alexander, however, bade Glaucippus to be gone with all speed to the city and tell the citizens to be ready to fight at dawn. He personally saw to engines being set against the walls, and, partly by bombarding the wall at close quarters, and partly by battering it over a great distance, he brought up his force to be ready to rush in wherever the wall was breached or shaken. The Persians from Mycale were close by, and almost beheld their friends and allies under siege.

But now Nicanor's fleet from Lade sighted Alexander's attack, and sailed into the harbour of Miletus, rowing along the coast, and, jamming their triremes, bows seaward, at the narrowest part of the entrance had bottled up the harbour against the Persian fleet, and cut off Persian help for Miletus. Thereon the Milesians and the mercenaries, hard pressed on all sides by the Macedonians, some threw themselves into the sea and using their shields as coracles paddled over to a little nameless island

ἐς κελήτια ἐμβαίνοντες καὶ ἐπειγόμενοι ὑποφθάσαι
τὰς τριήρεις τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐγκατελήφθησαν ἐν
τῷ στόματι τοῦ λιμένος πρὸς τῶν τριηρῶν· οἱ δὲ
πολλοὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει ἀπώλλυντο.
5 Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ἐχομένης ἤδη τῆς πόλεως, ἐπὶ
τοὺς ἐς τὴν νῆσον καταπεφευγότας ἐπέπλει αὐτός,
κλίμακας φέρειν ἐπὶ τὰς πρῴρας τῶν τριηρῶν
κελεύσας, ὡς κατὰ τὰ ἀπότομα τῆς νήσου, καθάπερ
πρὸς τεῖχος, ἐκ τῶν νεῶν τὴν ἀπόβασιν ποιησό-
6 μενος. Ὡς δὲ διακινδυνεύειν ἐθέλοντας τοὺς ἐν
τῇ νήσῳ ἑώρα, οἶκτος λαμβάνει αὐτὸν τῶν ἀνδρῶν,
ὅτι γενναῖοί τε καὶ πιστοὶ αὐτῷ ἐφαίνοντο, καὶ
σπένδεται πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῷδε ὡς αὐτῷ ξυστρα-
τεύειν· ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι μισθοφόροι Ἕλληνες ἐς
τριακοσίους· αὐτοὺς δὲ Μιλησίους, ὅσοι μὴ ἐν
τῇ καταλήψει τῆς πόλεως ἔπεσον, ἀφῆκε καὶ
ἐλευθέρους εἶναι ἔδωκεν.
7 Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἀπὸ τῆς Μυκάλης ὁρμώμενοι
ταῖς μὲν ἡμέραις ἐπέπλεον τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ ναυτικῷ,
προκαλέσασθαι ἐς ναυμαχίαν ἐλπίζοντες, τὰς δὲ
νύκτας πρὸς τῇ Μυκάλῃ οὐκ ἐν καλῷ ὡρμίζοντο,
ὅτι ὑδρεύεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ τῶν
8 ἐκβολῶν διὰ μακροῦ ἠναγκάζοντο. Ἀλέξανδρος
δὲ ταῖς μὲν ναυσὶ τὸν λιμένα ἐφύλαττε τῶν
Μιλησίων, ὡς μὴ βιάσαιντο οἱ βάρβαροι τὸν
ἔσπλουν. Ἐκπέμπει δ᾿ ἐς τὴν Μυκάλην Φιλώταν,
ἄγοντα τούς τε ἱππέας καὶ τῶν πεζῶν τάξεις
τρεῖς, παραγγείλας εἴργειν τῆς ἀποβάσεως τοὺς
ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν. Οἱ δέ, ὕδατός τε σπάνει καὶ
τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ πολιορ-
κούμενοι ἐν ταῖς ναυσίν, ἐς Σάμον ἀπέπλευσαν·
ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐπισιτισάμενοι αὖθις ἐπέπλεον τῇ

near the city, others got into pinnaces and hurrying to get in front of the Macedonian triremes were caught by them at the harbour entrance; but the greater number perished in the city itself.

Alexander, the city being now in hand, sailed off against those who had fled to the islet, ordering ladders to be brought to the bows of the triremes so as to disembark from the ships on the cliffs of the islands as if on a city wall. But seeing that those on the island were going to fight to the death, he felt compassion for them, as noble and loyal soldiers, and made terms with them that they should join his forces; there were about 300 of these Greek mercenaries. The Milesians themselves, save such as fell at the final assault, he dismissed with their freedom.

The Persians using Mycale as a base by daytime used to sail towards the Greek navy, hoping to provoke an engagement; but at night they did not ride in comfort at Mycale, because they were obliged to get water from the mouths of the Maeander, some way off. Alexander with his fleet guarded the harbour of Miletus, that the Persians might not force the entrance, but he sent Philotas to Mycale with the cavalry and three columns of infantry, bidding him hinder the Persians from disembarking. So they, from want of water and other things, were as good as besieged in their ships, and sailed off to Samos; provisioning there, they made for Miletus

9 Μιλήτῳ. Καὶ τὰς μὲν πολλὰς τῶν νεῶν πρὸ
τοῦ λιμένος ἐν μετεώρῳ παρέταξαν, εἴ πη ἐκκαλέ-
σαιντο ἐς τὸ πέλαγος τοὺς Μακεδόνας· πέντε δὲ
αὐτῶν εἰσέπλευσαν εἰς τὸν μεταξὺ τῆς τε Λάδης
νήσου καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου λιμένα, ἐλπίσαντες
κενὰς καταλήψεσθαι τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου ναῦς, ὅτι
τοὺς ναύτας ἀποσκεδάννυσθαι τὸ πολὺ ἀπὸ τῶν
νεῶν τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ φρυγανισμῷ, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ
ξυγκομιδῇ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐς προ-
10 νομὰς ταττομένους, πεπυσμένοι ἦσαν. Ἀλλὰ
μέρος μέν τι ἀπῆν τῶν ναυτῶν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν παρόν-
των ξυμπληρώσας Ἀλέξανδρος δέκα ναῦς, ὡς
προσπλεούσας τὰς πέντε τῶν Περσῶν κατεῖδε,
πέμπει ἐπ᾿ αὐτὰς κατὰ σπουδήν, ἐμβάλλειν ἀντι-
πρῴρους κελεύσας. Οἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖς πέντε ναυσὶ
τῶν Περσῶν, ὡς παρ᾿ ἐλπίδα ἀναγομένους τοὺς
Μακεδόνας ἐπὶ σφᾶς εἶδον, ὑποστρέψαντες ἐκ
11 πολλοῦ ἔφευγον πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο ναυτικόν. Καὶ ἡ
μὲν Ἰασσέων ναῦς ἁλίσκεται αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐν
τῇ φυγῇ, οὐ ταχυναυτοῦσα, αἱ δὲ τέσσαρες ἔφθα-
σαν καταφυγεῖν εἰς τὰς οἰκείας τριήρεις. Οὕτω
μὲν δὴ ἀπέπλευσαν ἄπρακτοι ἐκ Μιλήτου οἱ
Πέρσαι.

XX. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ καταλῦσαι ἔγνω τὸ ναυτικὸν χρημάτων τε ἐν τῷ τότε ἀπορίᾳ καὶ ἅμα οὐκ ἀξιόμαχον ὁρῶν τὸ αὑτοῦ ναυτικὸν τῷ Περσικῷ, οὔκουν οὐδ᾿ ἐθέλων μέρει τινὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς κινδυνεύειν. Ἄλλως τε ἐπενόει, κατέχων ἤδη τῷ πεζῷ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὅτι οὔτε ναυτικοῦ ἔτι δέοιτο, τάς τε παραλίους πόλεις λαβὼν καταλύσει τὸ Περσῶν ναυτικόν, οὔτε ὁπόθεν τὰς ὑπηρεσίας συμπληρώσουσιν οὔτε ὅπη τῆς Ἀσίας

again. The mass of their vessels they drew up in line out at sea opposite the harbour, hoping to provoke the Macedonians to action in the open; but five ships slipped into the harbour between Lade and the camp, hoping to capture Alexander's ships unmanned, having learned that the crews had for the most part scattered, some to fuel, some to convoy stores, and some detailed for foraging. There was indeed a certain number away from the ships; but Alexander manned ten ships with the available hands, and when he sighted the five Persian ships bearing down, sent these to meet them at full speed with orders to ram. The crews of the five Persian ships, seeing the Macedonians making for them (the last thing they expected), doubled back, while still at safe distance, and joined the main fleet. One ship (manned by Iassians) was captured with its crew in the retreat, being a slow sailer; the other four got safe to their own triremes. Thus the Persians left Miletus with nothing done.

XX. Alexander now decided to disband his navy, both from want of money at the time and also perceiving that his fleet could not face an action with the Persian navy; he had no intention to risk disaster with even a portion of his armament. Further, he reflected that as he now held Asia with his land troops, he no longer needed a navy, and that by capturing the Persian coast bases he would break up their fleet, since they would have nowhere to make up their crews from, and, in fact, no seaport

προσέξουσιν ἔχοντας. Καὶ τὸν ἀετὸν ταύτῃ συνέβαλλεν ὅτι ἐσήμηνεν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς γῆς κρατήσειν τῶν νεῶν.

2 Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος ἐπὶ Καρίας ἐστέλλετο, ὅτι ἐν Ἁλικαρνασσῷ συνεστηκέναι οὐ φαύλην δύναμιν τῶν τε βαρβάρων καὶ ξένων ἐξηγγέλλετο. Ὅσαι δὲ ἐν μέσῳ πόλεις Μιλήτου τε καὶ Ἁλικαρνασσοῦ, ταύτας ἐξ ἐφόδου λαβὼν καταστρατοπεδεύει πρὸς Ἁλικαρνασσῷ, ἀπέχων τῆς πόλεως ἐς πέντε μάλιστα σταδίους, ὡς ἐπὶ
3 χρονίῳ πολιορκίᾳ. Ἥ τε γὰρ φύσις τοῦ χωρίου ὀχυρὸν ἐποίει αὐτὸ καὶ ὅπῃ τι ἐνδεῖν ὡς πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ἐφαίνετο, ξύμπαντα ταῦτα Μέμνων τε αὐτὸς παρών, ἤδη ἀποδεδειγμένος πρὸς Δαρείου τῆς τε κάτω Ἀσίας καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ παντὸς ἡγεμών, ἐκ πολλοῦ παρεσκευάκει, καὶ στρατιῶται πολλοὶ μὲν ξένοι μισθοφόροι ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐγκατελείφθησαν, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ Περσῶν αὐτῶν· αἵ τε τριήρεις ἐφώρμουν[1] τῷ λιμένι, ὡς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ναυτῶν πολλὴν ὠφέλειαν γίγνεσθαι ἐς τὰ ἔργα.

4 Τῇ μὲν δὴ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ προσάγοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου τῷ τείχει κατὰ τὰς ἐπὶ Μύλασα φερούσας πύλας, ἐκδρομή τε γίγνεται τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἀκροβολισμός· καὶ τούτους οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀνέστειλάν τε οἱ παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀντεκδραμόντες καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν κατέκλεισαν.

5 Οὐ πολλαῖς δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραις Ἀλέξανδρος ἀναλαβὼν τούς τε ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τὴν τῶν ἑταίρων ἵππον καὶ τὴν Ἀμύντου τε καὶ Περδίκκου καὶ Μελεάγρου τάξιν τὴν πεζικήν, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας, περιῆλθε

[1] ἐφώρμουν A[2] and other MSS. B read ἐφώρμηντο.

in Asia. Thus he took the eagle to mean that he should conquer the ships from dry land.

When he had settled this he marched towards Caria, having had reports that a considerable force of Persians and mercenaries had assembled at Halicarnassus. Such cities as lie between Miletus and Halicarnassus he captured on the march, and then encamped against Halicarnassus, at five stades distance, settling down for a long siege. For the position of the place made it very strong, and if anything was needed to strengthen it, Memnon had personally seen to this long ago; from the moment he was marked out by Dareius for command of all lower Asia and of the whole fleet; a large force of mercenaries had been left in the city, with many Persians also; the triremes guarded the harbour, so that the sailors too lent much assistance.

On the first day it fell out that as Alexander was approaching the wall near the gates leading to Mylasa there was a sally from the city and volleys at safe distance; this attack Alexander's troops had no difficulty in driving back by a counter sally, and also safely shut up the attacking party in their walls again.

A few days later Alexander led off his guards, the territorial cavalry, and the infantry battalion of Amyntas, Perdiccas, and Meleager, with the archers and the Agrianes, and went round the city to the

τῆς πόλεως τὸ πρὸς Μύνδον μέρος, τό τε τεῖχος κατοψόμενος, εἰ ταύτῃ ἐπιμαχώτερον τυγχάνει ὂν ἐς τὴν προσβολὴν καὶ ἅμα εἰ τὴν Μύνδον ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς δύναιτο λαθὼν κατασχεῖν· ἔσεσθαι γὰρ οὐ σμικρὰν τὴν ὠφέλειαν ἐς τὴν τῆς Ἁλικαρνασσοῦ πολιορκίαν τὴν Μύνδον οἰκείαν γενομένην· καί τι καὶ ἐνεδίδοτο αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν
6 Μυνδίων, εἰ λάθοι νυκτὸς προσελθών. Αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὰ ξυγκείμενα ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας προσῆλθε τῷ τείχει· ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐνεδίδοτο ἀπὸ τῶν ἔνδον, αἵ τε μηχαναὶ καὶ αἱ κλίμακες αὐτῷ οὐ παρῆσαν, οἷα δὴ οὐκ ἐπὶ πολιορκίαν σταλέντι, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ ἐνδιδομένης τῆς πόλεως, προσήγαγε καὶ ὣς τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν φάλαγγα,
7 ὑπορύττειν κελεύσας τὸ τεῖχος. Καὶ ἕνα γε πύργον κατέβαλον οἱ Μακεδόνες· οὐ μέντοι ἐγύμνωσέ γε τὸ τεῖχος πεσών· καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἅμα εὐρώστως ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἁλικαρνασσοῦ κατὰ θάλασσαν πολλοὶ ἤδη παραβεβοηθηκότες ἄπορον ἐποίησαν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν αὐτοσχέδιόν τε καὶ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς κατάληψιν τῆς Μύνδου. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ ἐπανέρχεται Ἀλέξανδρος οὐδὲν πράξας ὧν ἕνεκα ὡρμήθη, καὶ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τῆς Ἁλικαρνασσοῦ αὖθις προσεῖχε.

8 Καὶ τὰ πρῶτα μὲν τὴν τάφρον, ἣ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ὀρώρυκτο αὐτοῖς, πλάτος μὲν τριάκοντα μάλιστα πήχεων, βάθος δὲ ἐς πεντεκαίδεκα, ἐχώννυε, τοῦ ῥᾳδίαν εἶναι τὴν προσαγωγὴν τῶν τε πύργων, ἀφ᾽ ὧν ἔμελλε τοὺς ἀκροβολισμοὺς ἐς τοὺς προμαχομένους τοῦ τείχους ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μηχανῶν, αἷς κατασείειν ἐπενόει τὸ τεῖχος. Καὶ ἥ τε τάφρος αὐτῷ ἐχώσθη οὐ

side that lay Myndus-ward; his idea was to reconnoitre the wall in case it should prove more open to an assault there, and also to see if perhaps he could capture Myndus by a sudden raid. The capture of Myndus, he thought, would be a great help to a siege of Halicarnassus. A proposal of surrender had been received from Myndus, provided he could arrive there by night. He therefore approached Myndus about midnight, as agreed; but there was no sign of surrender; his engines and ladders he had left behind—naturally enough, since he had not come to besiege, but to receive a treacherous surrender of the city. None the less he brought up the Macedonian phalanx with orders to sap the wall. One tower they did throw down; yet in its fall it did not strip the wall; the defenders stoutly resisted, and numerous troops by this time had sailed up from Halicarnassus and prevented Alexander from rushing the capture of Myndus. So Alexander retreated with this project a failure, and he kept once more to the siege of Halicarnassus.

First he filled level the moat which they had dug before the city, about 30 cubits broad and 15 deep; this was to facilitate the approach of the towers, from which he intended to bombard by volleys of missiles the defenders of the wall, as also of the other engines intended to batter the walls. The ditch was

9 χαλεπῶς καὶ οἱ πύργοι προσήγοντο ἤδη. Οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἁλικαρνασσοῦ νυκτὸς ἐκδραμόντες, ὡς ἐμπρῆσαι τούς τε πύργους καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι μηχαναὶ προσηγμέναι ἢ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ προσάγεσθαι ἦσαν, ὑπὸ τῶν φυλακῶν τε τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ ὅσοι ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ ἐξεγερθέντες παρεβοήθησαν οὐ χαλεπῶς κατεκλείσθησαν ἐς τὰ τείχη αὖθις.
10 Καὶ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν ἄλλοι τε ἐς ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ Νεοπτόλεμος ὁ Ἀρραβαίου, τοῦ Ἀμύντου ἀδελφός, τῶν παρὰ Δαρεῖον αὐτομολησάντων. Τῶν δ' Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατιωτῶν ἀπέθανον μὲν ἐς ἑκκαίδεκα, τραυματίαι δὲ ἐγένοντο ἐς τριακοσίους, ὅτι ἐν νυκτὶ γενομένης τῆς ἐκδρομῆς ἀφυλακτότεροι ἐς τὸ τιτρώσκεσθαι ἦσαν.

XXI. Οὐ πολλαῖς δὲ ἡμέραις ὕστερον δύο τῶν Μακεδόνων ὁπλῖται ἐκ τῆς Περδίκκου τάξεως, ξυσκηνοῦντές τε καὶ ἅμα ξυμπίνοντες, αὑτόν τε καὶ τὰ αὑτοῦ ἑκάτερος ἐπὶ μέγα τῷ λόγῳ ἦγεν. Ἔνθα δὴ φιλοτιμία τε ἐσπίπτει αὐτοῖς, καί τι καὶ ὁ οἶνος ὑπεθέρμαινεν, ὥστε ὁπλισάμενοι αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ σφῶν προσβάλλουσι τῷ τείχει κατὰ τὴν ἄκραν τὴν πρὸς Μύλασα μάλιστα τετραμμένην, ὡς ἐπίδειξιν τῆς σφῶν ῥώμης μᾶλλόν τι ἢ πρὸς πολεμίους μετὰ κινδύνου τὸν ἀγῶνα ποιησόμενοι.
2 Καὶ τούτους κατιδόντες τινὲς τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως δύο τε ὄντας καὶ οὐ ξὺν λογισμῷ προσφερομένους τῷ τείχει ἐπεκθέουσιν. Οἱ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐγγὺς πελάσαντας ἀπέκτειναν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας ἠκροβολίζοντο, πλεονεκτούμενοι τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ τοῦ χωρίου τῇ χαλεπότητι, ὅτι ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου τοῖς πολεμίοις ἡ ἐπιδρομή τε καὶ ὁ

filled up without difficulty and the towers soon were brought up. The Halicarnassians, however, made a night sally, to burn the towers and the other engines which had been brought up, or were in position shortly so to be. But the attackers were easily enclosed again in their city walls by the Macedonian guards and others who, waking up in the course of the action, rushed to their help. The city lost 170 men, including Neoptolemus son of Arrabaeus, brother of Amyntas, one of those who had deserted to Dareius: of Alexander's troops there fell about sixteen, but three hundred were wounded, since—the sally being at night—they were less protected against wounds.

XXI. Not many days after, two Macedonian men-at-arms of Perdiccas' battalion, bivouacked together and drinking together, were each exalting his own prowess and deeds: rivalry arose, assisted by the heating fumes of wine; so they armed themselves and attacked the wall by the height which looks Mylasa way; their idea being to exhibit their strength rather than to force a perilous encounter with the enemy. Some in the city sighted the rash pair approaching the wall, and made a dash out upon them, slaying both these two men, who were close up, and showering volleys on the more distant troops, confident in their number and in the difficulty of the ground, since the Halicarnassians had the advantage of height for their charge and

3 ἀκροβολισμὸς ἐγίνετο. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀντεκθέουσί τινες καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν τοῦ Περδίκκου στρατιωτῶν, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἁλικαρνασσοῦ ἄλλοι· καὶ ξυμπίπτει μάχη καρτερὰ πρὸς τῷ τείχει. Καὶ κατακλείονται αὖθις πρὸς τῶν Μακεδόνων εἴσω τῶν πυλῶν οἱ ἐπεκδραμόντες. Παρ' ὀλίγον
4 δὲ ἦλθε καὶ ἁλῶναι ἡ πόλις. Τά τε γὰρ τείχη ἐν τῷ τότε οὐκ ἐν ἀκριβεῖ φυλακῇ ἦν καὶ δύο πύργοι καὶ μεσοπύργιον ἐς ἔδαφος καταπεπτωκότα οὐ χαλεπὴν ἂν τῷ στρατεύματι, εἰ ἅπαντες προσήψαντο τοῦ ἔργου, τὴν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος πάροδον παρέσχε. Καὶ ὁ τρίτος πύργος κατασεσεισμένος οὐδὲ οὗτος χαλεπῶς ἂν ἠρείφθη ὑπορυσσόμενος· ἀλλὰ ἔφθησαν γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ πεπτωκότος τείχους ἔσωθεν πλίνθινον μηνοειδὲς ἀντοικοδομησάμενοι οὐ χαλεπῶς, ὑπὸ πολυχειρίας.

5 Καὶ τούτῳ ἐπῆγε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τὰς μηχανὰς Ἀλέξανδρος· καὶ ἐκδρομὴ αὖθις γίνεται τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τῷ ἐμπρῆσαι τὰς μηχανάς. Καὶ μέρος μέν τι τῶν πλησίον τοῦ τείχους γέρρων καὶ ἑνὸς τῶν πύργων τῶν ξυλίνων κατεκαύθη, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα διεφύλαξαν οἱ περὶ Φιλώταν τε καὶ Ἑλλάνικον, οἷς ἡ φυλακὴ αὐτῶν ἐπετέτραπτο· ὡς δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπεφάνη ἐν τῇ ἐκδρομῇ, τάς τε δᾷδας ὅσας ἔχοντες ἐκβεβοηθήκεσαν ἀφέντες καὶ τὰ ὅπλα οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ῥίψαντες εἴσω τοῦ τεί-
6 χους ἔφευγον. Καίτοι τά γε πρῶτα τῇ φύσει τε τοῦ χωρίου, ὑπερδεξίου ὄντος, ἐπεκράτουν καὶ οὐ κατὰ μέτωπον μόνον ἠκροβολίζοντο ἐς τοὺς προμαχομένους τῶν μηχανῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν πύργων, οἳ δὴ ἑκατέρωθεν τοῦ ἐρηριμμένου τείχους αὐτοὶ ὑπολελειμμένοι ἐκ πλαγίου τε καὶ μόνον οὐ κατὰ

their volleys. On this more of Perdiccas' men hurried up, and others from the city too, and a stiff fight raged about the wall. Once more the Macedonians drove the sallying force back into the city, and indeed the City was not far from being captured. For the walls were not then carefully guarded, and as two towers and one intervening curtain had fallen, the approach to the wall had become easy for the army, had they all attacked together. The third tower, moreover, had been badly shaken, and if undermined would easily have been brought down, but the besieged had smartly built out opposite the breach from within a crescent-shaped brick wall, and as they had plenty of builders, they did so with ease.

Alexander next day brought up his engines against this wall; promptly a sally was made to burn them. Part of the fence of mantlets near the walls and one of the wooden towers were burnt; the rest was saved by Philotas and Hellanicus and their men, who were entrusted with the care of them. But when Alexander also appeared in the assault, they threw away the torches with which they had rushed out, and most cast away their arms and made within the wall. Yet at first, from the position, which was commanding, the besieged had the best of it, and did not only volley straight ahead along their line at the advance guard of the engines, but also from the towers left standing on either side of the breach, which enabled them to volley on the flanks,

νώτου παρεῖχον ἀκροβολίζεσθαι ἐς τοὺς τῷ ἀντῳκοδομημένῳ τείχει προσάγοντας.

XXII. Οὐ πολλαῖς δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραις ἐπάγοντος αὖθις Ἀλεξάνδρου τὰς μηχανὰς τῷ πλινθίνῳ τῷ ἐντὸς τείχει καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐφεστηκότος τῷ ἔργῳ, ἐκδρομὴ γίνεται πανδημεὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τῶν μὲν κατὰ τὸ ἐρηριμμένον τεῖχος, ᾗ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπετέτακτο, τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὸ Τρίπυλον, ᾗ οὐδὲ πάνυ τι προσδεχομένοις τοῖς Μακεδόσιν
2 ἦν. Καὶ οἱ μὲν δᾷδάς τε ταῖς μηχαναῖς ἐνέβαλλον καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐς τὸ ἐξάψαι τε φλόγα καὶ ἐπὶ μέγα προκαλέσασθαι· τῶν δὲ ἀμφ᾽ Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτῶν τε ἐμβαλλόντων ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐρρωμένως καὶ ταῖς μηχαναῖς ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων λίθων τε μεγάλων ἀφιεμένων καὶ βελῶν ἐξακοντιζομένων, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπεστράφησάν τε καὶ ἔφυγον ἐς τὴν
3 πόλιν. Καὶ φόνος ταύτῃ οὐκ ὀλίγος ἐγένετο, ὅσῳ πλείονές τε καὶ ξὺν μείζονι τῇ τόλμῃ ἐξέδραμον. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τῷ τείχει τῷ καταπεπτωκότι, στενωτέρας τε ᾗ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν τῆς παρόδου οὔσης καὶ τῶν κατερηριμμένων τοῦ τείχους χαλεπὴν τὴν ὑπέρβασιν αὐτοῖς παρεχόντων.

4 Τοῖς δὲ κατὰ τὸ Τρίπυλον ἐκδραμοῦσιν ἀπήντα Πτολεμαῖος ὁ σωματοφύλαξ ὁ βασιλικός, τήν τε Ἀδδαίου καὶ Τιμάνδρου ἅμα οἷ τάξιν ἄγων καὶ ἔστιν οὓς τῶν ψιλῶν· καὶ οὗτοι οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ χαλεπῶς
5 ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. Ξυνέβη δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει κατὰ στενὴν γέφυραν τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς τάφρου πεποιημένην φεύγουσι τήν τε γέφυραν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ πλήθους ξυντρῖψαι καὶ πολ-

and almost at the rear, of those who approached the new-built wall.

XXII. A few days afterwards Alexander again brought up his engines to the inner brick wall, taking charge of operations himself, and there was a sally in full force; some of the enemy attacked near the breach, where Alexander was, others at the triple gate, the last place the Macedonians looked for a sally. Some flung torches at the siege engines, and anything else which might light a flame and spread it to the utmost; but Alexander's immediate supports counter-attacked vigorously; large stones were hurled by the engines from the towers, bullets were showered in volleys, and the besieged were fairly easily repulsed and fled back to the city. They suffered a good deal of loss, proportionate to the number of the attackers and the boldness of their sally. Some fell in hand-to-hand fight with the Macedonians, others about the fallen wall, the passage being too narrow to admit such a number and the fallen parts of the wall making it difficult to pass over them.

As for those who sallied by the triple gate, Ptolemaeus, captain of the bodyguard of Alexander, met them, bringing up the battalions of Addaeus and Timander, and some of the light troops; these too fairly easily drove back the sallying party. This also suffered in the retreat over a narrow bridge thrown over the moat; the bridge gave way under their

λοὺς αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν τάφρον ἐμπεσόντας τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ
σφῶν καταπατηθέντας διαφθαρῆναι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ
6 ἄνωθεν ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων βαλλομένους. Ὁ
πλεῖστος δὲ φόνος περὶ ταῖς πύλαις αὐταῖς
ξυνέβη, ὅτι ἡ ξύγκλεισις τῶν πυλῶν φοβερά τε
καὶ πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ γενομένη, δεισάντων μὴ
συνεισπέσοιεν τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐχόμενοι αὐτῶν οἱ
Μακεδόνες, πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν φιλίων τῆς εἰσόδου
ἀπέκλεισεν, οὓς πρὸς αὐτοῖς τοῖς τείχεσιν οἱ
7 Μακεδόνες διέφθειραν. Καὶ παρ᾽ ὀλίγον ἧκεν
ἁλῶναι ἡ πόλις, εἰ μὴ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀνεκαλέσατο
τὸ στράτευμα, ἔτι διασῶσαι ἐθέλων τὴν Ἁλικαρ-
νασσόν, εἴ τι φίλιον ἐνδοθείη ἐκ τῶν Ἁλικαρνασ-
σέων. Ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐς
χιλίους, τῶν δὲ ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀμφὶ τοὺς
τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ ἐν τούτοις Πτολεμαῖός τε ὁ
σωματοφύλαξ καὶ Κλέαρχος ὁ τοξάρχης καὶ
Ἀδδαῖος χιλιάρχης, οὗτοι καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν οὐκ
ἠμελημένων Μακεδόνων.

XXIII. Ἔνθα δὴ ξυνελθόντες οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν
Περσῶν, Ὀροντοβάτης τε καὶ Μέμνων, καὶ ἐκ
τῶν παρόντων γνόντες σφᾶς τε οὐ δυναμένους
ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντέχειν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ καὶ τοῦ τείχους
τὸ μέν τι καταπεπτωκὸς ἤδη ὁρῶντες, τὸ δὲ
κατασεσεισμένον, πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐν
ταῖς ἐκδρομαῖς τοὺς μὲν διεφθαρμένους, τοὺς δὲ
2 καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ τετρῶσθαι ἀπομάχους ὄντας, ταῦτα ἐν
νῷ λαβόντες ἀμφὶ δευτέραν φυλακὴν τῆς νυκτὸς
τόν τε ξύλινον πύργον ὃν αὐτοὶ ἀντῳκοδόμησαν
ταῖς μηχαναῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἐμπιπρᾶσι καὶ τὰς
3 στοὰς ἐν αἷς τὰ βέλη αὐτοῖς ἀπέκειτο. Ἐνέβα-
λον δὲ καὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις πῦρ ταῖς πλησίον τοῦ

numbers, many fell into the moat, some were trampled by their comrades, some the Macedonians shot down from above. The greatest slaughter was round about the gates themselves; for the gates were shut prematurely in panic, the defenders fearing lest the Macedonians, pressing hard upon the fugitives, might enter also; thus many friends were shut out, to be destroyed by their foes close to the walls. The city indeed came near to capture, had not Alexander sounded the retreat, desirous even now of saving Halicarnassus if the citizens would surrender without further hostility. About a thousand of these perished, of Alexander's forces about forty; among these were Ptolemaeus, captain of the bodyguard, Clearchus, in charge of the archers, Addaeus, a captain of thousand, and other Macedonians of repute.

XXIII. On this the leaders of the Persians, Orontobates and Memnon, met and decided that as things were they could not long hold out against the siege, with part of the wall gone, as they saw, and part badly shaken, many soldiers lost in the sallies, many disabled by wounds. Reviewing all this, about the second watch of the night they burned the wooden tower which they had built to oppose the enemy engines, and also their armouries. They fired as well all houses near the walls, others caught

τείχους· τῶν δὲ καὶ προσήψατο ἡ φλὸξ ἀπό τε
τῶν στοῶν καὶ τοῦ πύργου πολλὴ ἐπενεχθεῖσα
καί τι καὶ τοῦ ἀνέμου ταύτῃ ἐπιφέροντος· αὐτῶν
δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀρκόννησον ἀπεχώρησαν, οἱ δὲ
ἐς τὴν Σαλμακίδα ἄκραν οὕτω καλουμένην.
4 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ ὡς ἀπηγγέλθη ταῦτα ἐκ τινῶν
αὐτομολησάντων ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου, καὶ τὸ πῦρ πολὺ
καθεώρα αὐτός, καίτοι ἀμφὶ μέσας που νύκτας
ἦν τὸ γιγνόμενον, ὁ δὲ καὶ ὣς ἐξάγων τοὺς Μακε-
δόνας τοὺς μὲν ἔτι ἐμπιπράντας τὴν πόλιν ἔκτει-
νεν, ὅσοι δὲ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις καταλαμβάνοιντο
τῶν Ἁλικαρνασσέων, τούτους δὲ σώζειν παρήγ-
γειλεν.

5 Ἤδη τε ἕως ὑπέφαινε καὶ κατιδὼν τὰς ἄκρας
ἃς οἵ τε Πέρσαι καὶ οἱ μισθοφόροι κατειλήφεσαν,
ταύτας μὲν ἀπέγνω πολιορκεῖν, τριβήν τε ἐπι-
νοῶν οὐκ ὀλίγην ἔσεσθαί οἱ ἀμφ᾽ αὐτὰς τῇ φύσει
τῶν χωρίων καὶ οὐ παρὰ μέγα εἶναι ἐξελόντι οἱ
6 τὴν πόλιν ἤδη πᾶσαν. Θάψας δὲ τοὺς ἀπο-
θανόντας ἐν τῇ νυκτί, τὰς μὲν μηχανὰς ἐς
Τράλλεις ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἐπ᾽ αὐταῖς
τεταγμένους· αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν πόλιν εἰς ἔδαφος
κατασκάψας, αὐτῆς τε ταύτης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης
Καρίας φυλακὴν ἐγκαταλιπὼν ξένους μὲν πεζοὺς
τρισχιλίους, ἱππέας δὲ ἐς διακοσίους καὶ Πτολε-
μαῖον ἡγεμόνα αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ Φρυγίας ἐστέλλετο.
7 Τῆς δὲ Καρίας ξυμπάσης σατραπεύειν ἔταξεν
Ἄδαν, θυγατέρα μὲν Ἑκατόμνω, γυναῖκα δὲ
Ἱδριέως, ὃς καὶ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῇ ὢν κατὰ νόμον τῶν
Καρῶν ξυνῴκει. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἱδριεὺς τελευτῶν
ταύτῃ ἐπέτρεψε τὰ πράγματα, νενομισμένον ἐν
τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἔτι ἀπὸ Σεμιράμεως καὶ γυναῖκας ἄρχειν

fire from the armouries and the tower, where it burned furiously, the wind wafting it in this direction; as for themselves, part retreated to the citadel on the island, part into the height called Salmakis. As soon as this news was reported to Alexander from some who had deserted after the disaster, and as he himself saw the fire spreading, though it took place about midnight, none the less he called up his Macedonians and put to the sword any incendiaries caught in the act, while advising that any citizens found in the houses should be saved.

Dawn was breaking; and observing the heights which the Persians and the mercenaries had seized, he decided not to besiege these, considering that it would mean much delay round about them, owing to the nature of the ground, and no great advantage now he had captured the whole city. He buried, therefore, those who had fallen during the night, and ordered the troops detailed for the purpose to withdraw the siege engines to Tralles. Then he razed to the ground the city and left a garrison for the destroyed city and for all Caria, and he despatched three thousand mercenary foot, two hundred horse, under Ptolemaeus, to Phrygia. As satrap of entire Caria he appointed Ada, daughter of Hecatomnos, wife of Hidrieus. who according to Carian custom was both brother and husband. Hidrieus on his death had handed over affairs to her; from Semiramis down, the Asians had been used to women rulers.

ἀνδρῶν. Πιξώδαρος δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐκβάλλει τῆς
8 ἀρχῆς, αὐτὸς δὲ κατεῖχε τὰ πράγματα. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Πιξωδάρου, Ὀροντοβάτης τὴν Καρῶν ἀρχὴν ἐκ βασιλέως πεμφθεὶς εἶχε, γαμβρὸς ὢν Πιξωδάρου. Ἄδα δὲ Ἄλινδα μόνον κατεῖχε, χωρίον τῆς Καρίας ἐν τοῖς ὀχυρώτατον, καὶ ἐσβαλόντι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐς Καρίαν ἀπήντα, τά τε Ἄλινδα ἐνδιδοῦσα καὶ παῖδά οἱ τιθεμένη Ἀλέξανδρον. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος τά τε Ἄλινδα αὐτῇ ἐπέτρεψε καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ παιδὸς οὐκ ἀπηξίωσε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ Ἁλικαρνασσόν τε ἐξεῖλε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Καρίας ἐπεκράτησεν, αὐτῇ ἄρχειν ἁπάσης ἔδωκε.

XXIV. Τῶν Μακεδόνων δὲ ἔστιν οἳ συνεστρατευμένοι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἦσαν νεωστὶ πρὸ τῆς στρατείας γεγαμηκότες· καὶ τούτων ἔγνω οὐκ ἀμελητέα εἶναί οἱ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀλλ' ἐκπέμπει γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐκ Καρίας διαχειμάσοντας ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ ἅμα ταῖς γυναιξίν, ἐπιτάξας αὐτοῖς Πτολεμαῖόν τε τὸν Σελεύκου, ἕνα τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τῶν βασιλικῶν καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν Κοῖνόν τε τὸν Πολεμοκράτους καὶ Μελέαγρον τὸν Νεοπτολέμου, ὅτι καὶ
2 αὐτοὶ τῶν νεογάμων ἦσαν, προστάξας, ἐπειδὰν αὐτοί τε ἐπανίωσι καὶ τοὺς μετὰ σφῶν ἐκπεμφθέντας ἐπανάγωσι, καταλέξαι ἱππέας τε καὶ πεζοὺς ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὅσους πλείστους. Καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ τῷδε, εἴπερ τινὶ ἄλλῳ, εὐδοκίμησε παρὰ Μακεδόσιν Ἀλέξανδρος. Ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ Κλέανδρον τὸν Πολεμοκράτους ἐπὶ ξυλλογῇ στρατιωτῶν εἰς Πελοπόννησον.

3 Παρμενίωνα δὲ πέμπει ἐπὶ Σάρδεων, δοὺς αὐτῷ τῶν τε ἑταίρων ἱππαρχίαν καὶ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς

Pixodarus, however, turned her out of her position and assumed the throne himself. On his death Orontobates, as envoy from the king and brother-in-law of Pixodarus, took over. Ada meanwhile held Alinda only, a very strong fortress of Caria; and when Alexander entered Caria she went to meet him, surrendering Alinda and adopting Alexander as her son. Alexander gave Alinda back to her in charge, and did not reject the adoptive title, and on the capture of Halicarnassus and the rest of Caria, put her in command of the whole.

XXIV. Some of the Macedonians serving under Alexander had been recently married before taking the field; Alexander thought he ought not to neglect these men, but sent them off from Caria to spend the winter with their wives in Macedonia, putting in charge of them Ptolemaeus son of Seleucus, one of the royal bodyguard, and attaching to him, of the officers, Coenus son of Polemocrates and Meleager son of Neoptolemus, being themselves bridegrooms. He directed them, when they should return and bring back their convoy, to collect horse and foot from the country, as many as they could. Alexander gained as much popularity by this act among the Macedonians as by any other. He sent also Cleander son of Polemocrates to collect troops from the Peloponnese.

Parmenio he sent to Sardes, giving him a squadron of the territorial cavalry, the Thessalian cavalry, and

ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ξυμμάχους καὶ τὰς ἁμάξας ἄγειν· καὶ κελεύει προϊέναι ἀπὸ Σάρδεων ἐπὶ Φρυγίαν. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Λυκίας τε καὶ Παμφυλίας ᾔει, ὡς τῆς παραλίου κρατήσας ἀχρεῖον καταστῆσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ ναυτικόν. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐν παρόδῳ Ὕπαρνα, χωρίον ὀχυρόν, φυλακὴν ἔχον ξένους μισθοφόρους, ἐξ ἐφόδου ἔλαβεν· οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας ξένοι ὑπόσπονδοι ἐξῆλθον. Ἔπειτα εἰσβαλὼν ἐς Λυκίαν Τελμισσέας μὲν ὁμολογίᾳ προσηγάγετο· περάσας δὲ τὸν Ξάνθον ποταμὸν Πίναρα καὶ Ξάνθον τὴν πόλιν καὶ Πάταρα ἐνδοθέντα ἔλαβε καὶ ἄλλα ἐλάττω πολίσματα ἐς τριάκοντα.

5 Ταῦτα καταπράξας ἐν ἀκμῇ ἤδη τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐς τὴν Μιλυάδα καλουμένην χώραν εἰσβάλλει, ἣ ἔστι μὲν τῆς μεγάλης Φρυγίας, ξυνετέλει δὲ ἐς τὴν Λυκίαν τότε, οὕτως ἐκ βασιλέως μεγάλου τεταγμένον. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα Φασηλιτῶν πρέσβεις ἧκον περὶ φιλίας τε καὶ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ στεφανῶσαι Ἀλέξανδρον· καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπικηρυκευόμενοι ἐπρέσβευον Λυκίων τῶν κάτω
6 οἱ πολλοί. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ Φασηλίτας τε καὶ Λυκίους παραδοῦναι τὰς πόλεις τοῖς ἐπὶ τούτῳ στελλομένοις ἐκέλευσε· καὶ παρεδόθησαν ξύμπασαι. Αὐτὸς δὲ ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐς τὴν Φασηλίδα παραγενόμενος συνεξαιρεῖ αὐτοῖς φρούριον ὀχυρόν, ἐπιτετειχισμένον τῇ χώρᾳ πρὸς Πισιδῶν, ὅθεν ὁρμώμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι πολλὰ ἔβλαπτον τῶν Φασηλιτῶν τοὺς τὴν γῆν ἐργαζομένους.

XXV. Ἔτι δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν Φασηλίδα ὄντι ἐξαγγέλλεται Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀερόπου ἐπιβουλεύειν, τά τε ἄλλα τῶν ἑταίρων ὄντα καὶ

the other allies and the chariots; he bade him proceed from Sardes to Phrygia; but he himself went towards Lycia and Pamphylia, so that, now he held the coast, he might render useless the enemy's navy. First then on his route he took in his stride Hyparna, a strong place, with a mercenary garrison; but the mercenaries, receiving terms, marched out of the citadel. Then entering Lycia he took over, by surrender, the Telmisseans; crossing the Xanthus, he received Pinara and Xanthus city and Patara in submission, and thirty smaller strongholds.

When he had completed all this, in the height of winter, as it now was, he attacked the Milyan territory, as it is called; it belongs to Greater Phrygia, but was reckoned then as part of Lycia, according to the king's orders. There envoys from Phaselis come to offer friendly relations and to crown Alexander with a gold crown; taking the lead from them the greater part of Lower Lycia also sent envoys. Alexander bade both the envoys of Phaselis and the Lycians to hand over their cities to those whom he despatched to take them over; and they were all duly handed over. He came soon after to Phaselis, and took, in conjunction with these, a strong outpost, built to threaten this district by Pisidians, and from which the natives often did much injury to those of Phaselis who were tilling the ground.

XXV. While Alexander was still busied about Phaselis, he received news that his namesake, son of Aeropus, was meditating treachery—one of the "Companions,"[1] and at the moment commanding

[1] See Introductory Note.

ἐν τῷ τότε Θεσσαλῶν τῆς ἵππου ἄρχοντα. Ἦν μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος οὗτος ἀδελφὸς Ἡρομένους τε καὶ Ἀρραβαίου τῶν ξυνεπιλαβόντων τῆς
2 σφαγῆς τῆς Φιλίππου· καὶ τότε αἰτίαν σχόντα αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρος ἀφῆκεν, ὅτι ἐν πρώτοις τε ἀφίκετο τῶν φίλων παρ' αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ τὸν θώρακα συνενδὺς συνηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ εἰς τὰ βασίλεια· ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἐν τιμῇ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἶχε, στρατηγόν τε ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης στείλας, καὶ ἐπειδὴ Κάλας ὁ τῶν Θετταλῶν ἵππαρχος ἐπὶ σατραπείᾳ ἐξεπέμφθη, αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξεν ἄρχειν τῆς Θεσσαλικῆς ἵππου. Τὰ δὲ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐξηγγέλθη ὧδε.
3 Δαρεῖος, ἐπειδὴ Ἀμύντας αὐτομολήσας παρ' αὐτὸν λόγους τέ τινας καὶ γράμματα παρὰ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τούτου ἐκόμισε, καταπέμπει ἐπὶ θάλασσαν Σισίνην, ἄνδρα Πέρσην τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν πιστόν, πρόφασιν μὲν παρὰ Ἀτιζύην, τὸν Φρυγίας σατράπην, τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τούτῳ συνεσόμενον καὶ πίστεις δώσοντα, εἰ ἀποκτείνει βασιλέα Ἀλέξανδρον, αὐτὸν βασιλέα καταστήσειν τῆς Μακεδονίας καὶ χρυσίου τάλαντα πρὸς τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἐπιδώσειν χίλια.
4 Ὁ δὲ Σισίνης ἁλοὺς πρὸς Παρμενίωνος λέγει πρὸς Παρμενίωνα ὧν ἕνεκα ἀπεστάλη· καὶ τοῦτον [αὐτίκα] ἐν φυλακῇ πέμπει Παρμενίων παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ πυνθάνεται ταὐτὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ Ἀλέξανδρος. Συναγαγὼν δὲ τοὺς φίλους βουλὴν προὐτίθη ὅ τι χρὴ ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου γνῶναι.
5 Καὶ ἐδόκει τοῖς ἑταίροις μήτε πάλαι εὖ βεβουλεῦσθαι τὸ κράτιστον τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ἀνδρὶ οὐ πιστῷ ἐπιτρέψας, νῦν τε χρῆναι αὐτὸν κατὰ

the Thracian cavalry. This Alexander was brother to Heromenes and Arrabaeus, who had a part in the murder of Philip. Though he had incurred blame Alexander let him off for the nonce, since he had been among the first of his friends to rally to him on Philip's death, and had put on his cuirass and accompanied Alexander into the palace; later Alexander had even held him in a post of honour near his person, and had sent him to command in Thrace, and when Calas, commander of the Thracian cavalry, had been transferred to a satrapy, Alexander appointed him commander of the Thracian horse. The story of the plot was reported as follows.

Dareius, when Amyntas deserted to him bringing overtures and a letter from this lesser Alexander, sent Sisines, a trusty Persian from his suite, to the coast. The pretext was that he was to visit Atizues, satrap of Phrygia, but in fact he was to meet this Alexander and give him certain assurances, if he would assassinate Alexander the King, that the Persian king would give him the throne of Macedonia and a thousand gold talents to boot. Sisines fell into Parmenio's hands, and revealed to him the cause of his mission; and Parmenio sent him under escort to Alexander, who heard from him the same story. So he called together his friends, and held a council to see what should be decided about the traitor. The Companions held that Alexander had originally done unwisely in giving over the best of the cavalry to an untrustworthy officer, and that

τάχος ἐκποδὼν ποιεῖσθαι, πρὶν καὶ ἐπιτηδειότερον γενόμενον τοῖς Θετταλοῖς ξὺν αὐτοῖς τι
6 νεωτερίσαι. Καί τι καὶ θεῖον ἐφόβει αὐτούς. Ἔτι γὰρ πολιορκοῦντος αὐτοῦ (Ἀλεξάνδρου) Ἁλικαρνασσὸν ἀναπαύεσθαι μὲν ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ, χελιδόνα δὲ περιπέτεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς τρύζουσαν[1] μεγάλα καὶ τῆς εὐνῆς ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ καθίζειν, θορυβωδέστερον ἢ κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς
7 ᾄδουσαν. Τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ καμάτου ἐγερθῆναι μὲν ἀδυνάτως ἔχειν ἐκ τοῦ ὕπνου, ἐνοχλούμενον δὲ πρὸς τῆς φωνῆς τῇ χειρὶ οὐ βαρέως ἀποσοβῆσαι τὴν χελιδόνα· τὴν δὲ τοσούτου ἄρα δεῆσαι ἀποφυγεῖν πληγεῖσαν, ὥστε ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καθημένην μὴ πρόσθεν ἀνεῖναι,
8 πρὶν παντελῶς ἐξεγερθῆναι Ἀλέξανδρον. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος οὐ φαῦλον ποιησάμενος τὸ τῆς χελιδόνος ἀνεκοίνωσεν Ἀριστάνδρῳ τῷ Τελμισσεῖ, μάντει· Ἀρίστανδρον δὲ ἐπιβουλὴν μὲν ἔκ του τῶν φίλων σημαίνεσθαι αὐτῷ εἰπεῖν, σημαίνεσθαι δὲ καὶ ὅτι καταφανὴς ἔσται· τὴν γὰρ χελιδόνα σύντροφόν τε εἶναι ὄρνιθα καὶ εὔνουν ἀνθρώποις καὶ λάλον μᾶλλον ἢ ἄλλην ὄρνιθα.

9 Ταῦτά τε οὖν καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πέρσου ξυνθεὶς πέμπει ὡς Παρμενίωνα Ἀμφοτερὸν τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου μὲν παῖδα, ἀδελφὸν δὲ Κρατέρου· καὶ ξυμπέμπει αὐτῷ τῶν Περγαίων τινὰς τὴν ὁδὸν ἡγησομένους. Καὶ ὁ Ἀμφοτερὸς στολὴν ἐνδὺς ἐπιχώριον, ὡς μὴ γνώριμος εἶναι κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν,
10 λανθάνει ἀφικόμενος παρὰ Παρμενίωνα· καὶ γράμματα μὲν οὐ κομίζει παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου· οὐ γὰρ ἔδοξε γράφειν ὑπὲρ οὐδενὸς τοιούτου ἐς τὸ

[1] τρίζουσαν more accurate. Lucian, *Tim.* 21.

he should now get rid of him as soon as possible, before he got too familiar with the Thracians and headed some revolt. They also were troubled by an omen; for while Alexander was still besieging Halicarnassus and was taking his midday rest, a swallow circled over his head chattering noisily, and perched here and there on his bed; its note showed more alarm than the usual swallows' twittering. Alexander, from weariness, could not be awakened, but troubled by the twittering he gently brushed away the swallow; but the bird would not fly off when touched, rather it perched on Alexander's very head and kept on till Alexander fully awoke. Alexander, taking the incident seriously, reported it to Aristander of Telmissus, the seer; he replied that it meant treachery of some friend; but also the meaning was that this should come to light. For the swallow is a domestic bird, friendly to man, and a greater chatterer than any other bird.

Putting this together with the Persian's story, he sent to Parmenio Amphoterus son of Alexander, brother of Craterus, and at the same time some Pergaean guides. Amphoterus wore a native dress, so as not to be recognized on the journey; and so came safe to Parmenio. He brought no letter from King Alexander; it was thought unwise to commit anything to writing in a matter of this sort; but he

ἐμφανές· τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ γλώσσης οἱ ἐντεταλμένα ἐξήγγειλε. Καὶ οὕτω ξυλλαμβάνεται ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος οὗτος καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ ἦν.

XXVI. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἄρας ἐκ Φασηλίδος, μέρος μέν τι τῆς στρατιᾶς διὰ τῶν ὀρῶν πέμπει ἐπὶ Πέργης, ᾗ ὡδοπεποιήκεσαν αὐτῷ οἱ Θρᾷκες χαλεπὴν ἄλλως καὶ μακρὰν οὖσαν τὴν πάροδον· αὐτὸς δὲ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν διὰ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἦγε τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτόν. Ἔστι δὲ ταύτῃ ἡ ὁδὸς οὐκ ἄλλως ὅτι μὴ τῶν ἀπ' ἄρκτου ἀνέμων πνεόντων· εἰ δὲ νότοι κατέχοιεν, ἀπόρως ἔχει
2 διὰ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ὁδοιπορεῖν. Τότε δ' ἐκ νότων σκληρῶν βορέαι[1] ἐπιπνεύσαντες, οὐκ ἄνευ τοῦ θείου, ὡς αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐξηγοῦντο, εὐμαρῆ καὶ ταχεῖαν τὴν πάροδον παρέσχον. Ἐκ Πέργης δὲ ὡς προῄει, ἐντυγχάνουσιν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν πρέσβεις Ἀσπενδίων αὐτοκράτορες, τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐνδιδόντες, φρουρὰν δὲ μὴ εἰσάγειν
3 δεόμενοι. Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς φρουρᾶς πράξαντες ἀπῆλθον ὅσα ἠξίουν, πεντήκοντα δὲ τάλαντα κελεύει τῇ στρατιᾷ δοῦναι αὐτοῖς ἐς μισθὸν καὶ τοὺς ἵππους οὓς δασμὸν βασιλεῖ ἔτρεφον. Οἱ δὲ ὑπέρ τε τοῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ τοὺς ἵππους παραδώσειν ξυνθέμενοι ἀπῆλθον.

4 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπὶ Σίδης ᾔει. Εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ Σιδῆται Κυμαῖοι ἐκ Κύμης τῆς Αἰολίδος· καὶ οὗτοι λέγουσιν ὑπὲρ σφῶν τόνδε τὸν λόγον, ὅτι ὡς κατῆράν τε ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκείνην οἱ πρῶτοι ἐκ Κύμης σταλέντες καὶ ἐπὶ οἰκισμῷ ἐξέβησαν, αὐτίκα τὴν μὲν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἐξελάθοντο, εὐθὺς δὲ βάρβαρον φωνὴν ἵεσαν, οὐδὲ τῶν

[1] βορρέαι A; βορρᾶι Suidas.

gave a verbal message as directed. Thus Alexander was arrested and kept under guard.

XXVI. Leaving Phaselis, Alexander sent part of his force through the mountain passes towards Perga, where the Thracians had made him a road, the round journey being difficult and long. He himself led his immediate followers along the coast, a route practicable only with north winds blowing; south winds make the passage along the shore impossible. There had been heavy southerlies, but a north wind had set in—this by divine interposition, as Alexander and his staff interpreted it—and made the passage easy and swift. As he went on from Perga there met him on the way plenipotentiaries from Aspendus surrendering the city, but begging it might not be garrisoned. This point they won; but Alexander exacted from them fifty talents for the army as pay and all such horses as they bred as tribute to the King of Persia. They agreed to hand over both, and so departed.

Alexander now went towards Side, whose inhabitants are Cymaeans from Aeolian Cyme; they give this account of themselves, that as soon as they reached that land, the first to leave Cyme, sailing thither to colonize, they forgot their native tongue and talked a foreign language straight away, and

προσχώρων βαρβάρων, ἀλλὰ ἰδίαν σφῶν οὔπω πρόσθεν οὖσαν τὴν φωνήν· καὶ ἐκτότε οὐ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους προσχώρους Σιδῆται ἐβαρβάριζον.
5 Καταλιπὼν δὲ φρουρὰν ἐν [τῇ] Σίδῃ, προῄει ἐπὶ Σύλλιον, χωρίον ὀχυρὸν καὶ φρουρὰν ἔχον ξένων μισθοφόρων καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων βαρβάρων. Ἀλλ᾿ οὔτε τὸ Σύλλιον ἐξ ἐφόδου αὐτοσχεδίου ἠδυνήθη λαβεῖν, ἐπεί τε ἠγγέλθη αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τοὺς Ἀσπενδίους ὅτι οὐδὲν τῶν ξυγκειμένων πρᾶξαι ἐθέλοιεν, οὔτε τοὺς ἵππους παραδοῦναι τοῖς πεμφθεῖσιν οὔτε ἀπαριθμῆσαι τὰ χρήματα, καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὅτι ἀνασκευασάμενοι ἐς τὴν πόλιν τάς τε πύλας ἀποκεκλείκασι τοῖς παρ᾿ Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ τὰ τείχη ὅπῃ πεπονηκότα ἦν ἐπισκευάζουσι, ταῦτα πυθόμενος ἐπὶ Ἀσπένδου ἀνεζεύγνυεν.

XXVII. Ὤκισται δὲ τῆς Ἀσπένδου τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἐπὶ ἄκρᾳ ὀχυρᾷ καὶ ἀποτόμῳ, καὶ παρ᾿ αὐτὴν τὴν ἄκραν ὁ Εὐρυμέδων ποταμὸς ῥεῖ· ἦσαν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ περὶ τῇ ἄκρᾳ ἐν τῷ χθαμαλῷ οὐκ ὀλίγαι οἰκήσεις καὶ τεῖχος περιεβέβλητο
2 αὐταῖς οὐ μέγα. Τὸ μὲν δὴ τεῖχος εὐθύς, ὡς προσάγοντα Ἀλέξανδρον ἔγνωσαν, ἐκλείπουσιν ὅσοι ἐπῴκουν καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ὅσας ἐν τῷ χθαμαλῷ ᾠκισμένας οὐκ ἐδόκουν διαφυλάξαι ἂν δύνασθαι· αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν ἄκραν ξυμφεύγουσιν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἀφίκετο ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει, εἴσω τοῦ ἐρήμου τείχους παρελθὼν κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ταῖς καταλελειμμέναις
3 πρὸς τῶν Ἀσπενδίων. Οἱ δὲ Ἀσπένδιοι ὡς εἶδον αὐτόν τε Ἀλέξανδρον παρ᾿ ἐλπίδα ἥκοντα καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐν κύκλῳ σφῶν πάντῃ,

that not the Persian of the natives there, but their own idiom, in fact, a new dialect; henceforward the citizens of Side had been so many foreigners, contrary to the ways of their neighbours. Alexander left a guard at Side and went on to Syllium, a fortified place with a garrison of mercenaries and also of the natives of those parts. But he could not take Syllium in his stride, and, besides, it was reported on his march that the Aspendians were not minded to fulfil their obligations—neither to hand over the horses to the party sent to fetch them, nor to pay the money; nay, they had got their stuff in from the fields, had shut their gates upon Alexander's envoys, and were repairing weak places in their walls. Learning this, Alexander marched towards Aspendus.

XXVII. This city is built, for the most part, on a strong height, sheer, looking over the River Eurymedon. Round this height, on the flat, they had a number of dwellings and a small wall built round these. This wall, so soon as they were aware of Alexander's approach, the inhabitants deserted, and also the houses built on the level such as they thought it not possible to safeguard; they all took refuge on the height.. Alexander, arriving with full force, entered within the deserted wall and camped in the empty houses. But the citizens as soon as they saw Alexander himself arrived—just what they had not looked for—and his army all round them, sent

πέμψαντες πρέσβεις ἐδέοντο ἐφ' οἷσπερ τὸ πρότερον ξυμβῆναι. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος τό τε χωρίον ὀχυρὸν ἰδὼν καὶ αὐτὸς [ὡς] οὐκ ἐπὶ χρόνιον πολιορκίαν παρεσκευασμένος, ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς
4 μὲν οὐδὲ ὣς ξυνέβη πρὸς αὐτούς· ὁμήρους δὲ δοῦναι σφῶν τοὺς δυνατωτάτους ἐκέλευσε καὶ τοὺς ἵππους οὓς πρόσθεν ὡμολόγησαν καὶ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἀντὶ τῶν πεντήκοντα, καὶ πείθεσθαι τῷ σατράπῃ τῷ ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ταχθέντι καὶ φόρους ἀποφέρειν ὅσα ἔτη Μακεδόσι, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας διακριθῆναι, ἣν τῶν προσχώρων οὖσαν βίᾳ κατέχειν ἐν αἰτίᾳ ἦσαν.

5 Ὡς δὲ πάντα οἱ ἐπεχώρησαν, ἀνέζευξεν ἐς Πέργην, κἀκεῖθεν ἐς Φρυγίαν ὥρμητο· ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ πορεία παρὰ Τελμισσὸν[1] πόλιν. Οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι οὗτοι τὸ μὲν γένος Πισίδαι εἰσὶ βάρβαροι, χωρίον δὲ οἰκοῦσιν ὑπερύψηλον καὶ πάντῃ ἀπότομον· καὶ ἡ ὁδὸς παρὰ τὴν πόλιν
6 χαλεπή. Καθήκει γὰρ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὄρος ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδόν, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἀποπαύεται· ἀντίπορον δὲ αὐτῷ ὄρος ἄλλο ἐστὶν οὐ μεῖον ἀπότομον. Καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ὄρη ὥσπερ πύλας ποιεῖ ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ, καὶ ἔστιν ὀλίγῃ φυλακῇ κατέχοντας τὰ ὄρη ταῦτα ἄπορον ποιεῖν τὴν πάροδον. Καὶ τότε οἱ Τελμισσεῖς πανδημεὶ ἐκβεβοηθηκότες ἀμφότερα τὰ ὄρη κατεῖχον.
7 Ταῦτα δὴ ἰδὼν Ἀλέξανδρος στρατοπεδεύεσθαι αὐτοῦ ὅπως εἶχον ἐκέλευε τοὺς Μακεδόνας, γνοὺς ὅτι οὐ μενοῦσι πανδημεὶ οἱ Τελμισσεῖς αὐλιζομένους σφᾶς ἰδόντες, ἀλλ' ἀποχωρήσουσιν ἐς τὴν

[1] Coins give Termessus, and Sintenis corrects to Τερμησσός, but the error is possibly Arrian's (so Roos).

envoys and begged to be allowed to surrender on the old terms. Alexander, seeing that the position was strong, and being himself not ready for a long siege, yet refused the original terms. He demanded their most influential men as hostages, and that they should hand over the horses they had previously promised and a hundred talents in place of fifty; that they should give obedience to the satrap appointed by him, and pay yearly tribute to Macedon; an enquiry to be held, moreover, about the territory of their neighbours which they were accused of having taken by violence and now retaining.

All now satisfactorily arranged, Alexander moved to Perga and thence began his march to Phrygia, which led past Telmissus. The Telmissians are Pisidians in origin, uncivilized, and inhabit a very lofty position, precipitous all round; the road past the city is an awkward one. A height runs from the city up to the road, and there ends; but opposite is a height equally abrupt. These heights make natural gates on the road, and a small guard can cut off all approach by holding them. The Telmissians on this occasion came out in full force and occupied both heights. Alexander, seeing this, bade the Macedonians camp where they were, knowing that the Telmissians, seeing them bivouacking, would not

πόλιν, πλησίον οὖσαν, οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν, ὅσον φυ-
λακὴν καταλιπόντες ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρεσι. Καὶ ξυνέβη
ὅπως εἴκαζεν·[1] οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἀπῆλθον,
8 αἱ φυλακαὶ δὲ ἐγκατέμειναν. Καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους
εὐθὺς ἀναλαβὼν τούς τε τοξότας καὶ τὰς τῶν
ἀκοντιστῶν τάξεις καὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ὅσοι κου-
φότεροι, ἐπήγαγεν. Οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἔμειναν βαλλό-
μενοι, ἀλλὰ ἔλιπον τὸ χωρίον· καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος
ὑπερβαλὼν τὰ στενὰ πρὸς τῇ πόλει κατεστρα-
τοπέδευσε.

XXVIII. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀφικοῦνται παρ' αὐτὸν
Σελγέων πρέσβεις. Οἱ δέ εἰσι καὶ αὐτοὶ Πισίδαι
βάρβαροι καὶ πόλιν μεγάλην οἰκοῦσι καὶ μά-
χιμοί εἰσιν· ὅτι δὲ πολέμιοι τοῖς Τελμισσεῦσιν
ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐτύγχανον, ὑπὲρ φιλίας πρὸς Ἀλέ-
ξανδρον πεπρεσβευμένοι ἦσαν. Καὶ πρὸς τού-
τους σπένδεται Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ ἐκ τούτου πισ-
2 τοῖς ἐς ἅπαντα ἐχρήσατο. Τὴν Τελμισσὸν δὲ
ἀπέγνω ἑλεῖν ἂν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Σαγα-
λασσοῦ ἐστέλλετο. Ἦν δὲ καὶ αὕτη οὐ μικρὰ
πόλις· Πισίδαι καὶ ταύτην ᾤκουν, καὶ ἐδόκουν
πάντων Πισιδῶν μαχίμων ὄντων αὐτοὶ εἶναι οἱ
μαχιμώτατοι· καὶ τότε τὸν λόφον τὸν πρὸ τῆς πό-
λεως, ὅτι καὶ οὗτος οὐ μεῖον τοῦ τείχους ὀχυρὸς ἐς
τὸ ἀπομάχεσθαι ἦν, κατειληφότες προσέμενον.
3 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα τῶν Μακε-
δόνων τάττει ὧδε. Ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως,
ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπετέτακτο, τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς
εἶχεν, ἐχομένους δὲ τούτων τοὺς πεζεταίρους
ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον παρατείνας, ὡς ἑκάστοις

[1] Sintenis εἴκασεν, but here as elsewhere Arrian does not observe Attic precision.

wait there in force, but would, for the most part, drift away to the city close by, leaving on the heights only a guard. His guess proved right; most of them moved off, the guards remained. At once bringing up against them the archers, the javelin battalions, and the lighter-clad men-at-arms, he led them against the enemy, who at the first volleys gave ground, leaving the position, on which Alexander passed the narrow passage and encamped near the city.

XXVIII. At this point arrived envoys from the Selgians, who are also native Pisidians with a large city, a warlike people; they had been for some time at enmity with the Telmissians and so had sent an embassy to Alexander to ask for his friendship. Alexander granted their wish, and found them wholly trustworthy allies. He concluded that a siege of Telmissus would be a long one, and so moved on to Sagalassus, also a fairly large city, inhabited by Pisidians, the most warlike of this warlike tribe; they then occupied the hill in front of the city which was as strong for defensive operations as the wall itself, and held their ground. Alexander therefore thus deployed the Macedonian phalanx; on the right wing, his own post, he had the bodyguard, and in touch with them the territorial foot, right up to

τῶν στρατηγῶν ἡ ἡγεμονία τῆς τάξεως ἐν τῇ τότε
4 ἡμέρᾳ ἦν. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ ἐπέταξεν ἡγεμόνα
Ἀμύνταν τὸν Ἀρραβαίου. Προετάχθησαν δὲ αὐτῷ
τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ κέρως οἵ τε τοξόται καὶ οἱ Ἀγρι-
ᾶνες, τοῦ δὲ εὐωνύμου οἱ ἀκοντισταὶ οἱ Θρᾷκες,
ὧν ἡγεῖτο Σιτάλκης· οἱ γὰρ ἱππεῖς αὐτῷ οὐκ
ὠφέλιμοι ἐν τῇ δυσχωρίᾳ ἦσαν. Τοῖς Πισίδαις δὲ
καὶ Τελμισσεῖς προσβεβοηθηκότες συνετάξαντο.
5 Ἤδη δὲ οἱ ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον προσβεβληκότες
τῷ ὄρει ὅπερ κατεῖχον οἱ Πισίδαι κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ
ἀποτομώτατον τῆς ἀνόδου ἦσαν, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ
ἐπιτίθενται αὐτοῖς οἱ βάρβαροι λόχοις κατὰ
κέρας ἑκάτερον, ᾗ σφίσι μὲν εὐπροσοδώτατον
ἦν, τοῖς πολεμίοις δὲ χαλεπωτάτη ἡ πρόσβασις.
Καὶ τοὺς μὲν τοξότας, οἷα δὴ οὔτε ἀκριβῶς
ὡπλισμένους καὶ πρώτους πελάσαντας, ἐτρέ-
6 ψαντο, οἱ δὲ Ἀγριᾶνες ἔμειναν. Ἐγγὺς γὰρ
ἤδη καὶ ἡ φάλαγξ τῶν Μακεδόνων προσῆγε καὶ
πρὸ αὐτῆς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐφαίνετο. Ὡς δὲ ἐν
χερσὶν ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, γυμνοί τε οἱ βάρβαροι
ὄντες ὁπλίταις προσεφέροντο καὶ πάντῃ κατα-
τιτρωσκόμενοι ἔπιπτον, ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐγκλίνουσι.
7 Καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς πεντακοσίους·[1] κοῦ-
φοι γὰρ ὄντες καὶ ἔμπειροι τῶν χωρίων οὐ
χαλεπῶς ἀπεχώρουν· καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες διὰ
βαρύτητα τῶν ὅπλων καὶ ἀπειρίαν τῶν ὁδῶν
8 οὐ θαρραλέοι ἐς τὸ διώκειν ἦσαν. Ἀλέξανδρος
δὲ ἐχόμενος τῶν φευγόντων τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν
αἱρεῖ κατὰ κράτος. Τῶν δὲ ξὺν αὐτῷ Κλέανδρός
τε ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν τοξοτῶν ἀποθνήσκει καὶ τῶν

[1] After πεντακοσίους Krüger and Roos mark a lacuna, supplying ζῶντες δὲ ὀλίγοι ἐλήφθησαν (R.).

the left wing, all under the battalion officers in the order of precedence for the day. On the left he placed Amyntas son of Arrabaeus in command. Then in advance on the right wing were posted the archers and the Agrianes, on the left the Thracian javelin-men, under Sitalces; for the cavalry were of no use to him in this narrow space. Along with the Pisidians were ranged Telmissians who had come to help.

Already Alexander's immediate troops had thrown themselves on the height held by the Pisidians, and were now at the most steep part of the ascent; whereon the Pisidians attacked in ambuscades on either wing, where they could best approach, and the Macedonians were most hampered. They drove back the archers, being lightly armed and in the advanced line; but the Agrianes held firm. For the Macedonian phalanx was coming up, and Alexander himself was visible at its head. The battle becoming hand-to-hand, the unarmed natives charging hoplites were wounded, and falling on all sides, at length gave way. Some five hundred perished. Being light and knowing the country they got away easily; the Macedonians, from weight of armour and want of local knowledge had little heart for the pursuit. Alexander, however, kept on the heels of the fugitives and stormed the city, losing Cleandrus, the commander of the archers, and

ἄλλων ἀμφὶ τοὺς εἴκοσι. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Πισίδας ἦγε· καὶ τὰ μέν τινα τῶν φρουρίων βίᾳ ἐξεῖλε, τὰ δὲ ὁμολογίᾳ προσηγάγετο.

XXIX. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ᾔει ἐπὶ Φρυγίας παρὰ τὴν λίμνην ᾗ ὄνομα Ἀσκανία, ἐν ᾗ ἅλες πήγνυνται αὐτόματοι, καὶ τούτοις χρῶνται οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, οὐδὲ θαλάσσης τι ἐπὶ τούτῳ δέονται· καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Κελαινὰς πεμπταῖος. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Κελαιναῖς ἄκρα ἦν πάντη ἀπότομος, καὶ ταύτην φυλακὴ κατεῖχεν ἐκ τοῦ σατράπου τῆς Φρυγίας, Κᾶρες μὲν χίλιοι, Ἕλληνες δὲ μισθοφό-
2 ροι ἑκατόν. Καὶ οὗτοι πρεσβεύονται παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐπαγγελλόμενοι, εἰ μὴ ἀφίκοιτό σφισι βοήθεια ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ᾗ ξυνέκειτο, φράσαντες τὴν ἡμέραν, ὅτι παραδώσουσι τὸ χωρίον. Καὶ ἔδοξε ταῦτα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὠφελιμώτερα ἢ πολιορκεῖν ἄπορον πάντη προσφέρεσθαι τὴν ἄκραν.
3 Πρὸς μὲν δὴ ταῖς Κελαιναῖς φυλακὴν καταλείπει στρατιώτας ἐς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους. Μείνας δὲ αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας δέκα καὶ σατράπην ἀποδείξας Φρυγίας Ἀντίγονον τὸν Φιλίππου, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἀντ' ἐκείνου στρατηγὸν Βάλακρον τὸν Ἀμύντου ἐπιτάξας, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Γορδίου ἐστέλλετο. Καὶ Παρμενίωνι ἐπέστειλεν, ἄγοντα ἅμα οἷ τὴν δύναμιν ἐκεῖσε ἀπαντᾶν· καὶ
4 ἀπήντα ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει Παρμενίων. Καὶ οἱ νεόγαμοι δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ Μακεδονίας σταλέντες εἰς Γόρδιον ἧκον καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἄλλη στρατιὰ καταλεχθεῖσα, ἣν ἦγε Πτολεμαῖός τε ὁ Σελεύκου καὶ Κοῖνος ὁ Πολεμοκράτους καὶ Μελέαγρος ὁ Νεοπτολέμου, πεζοὶ μὲν Μακεδόνες τρισχίλιοι,

some twenty others. Then he attacked the remaining Pisidians, capturing many of their forts and receiving the surrender of others.

XXIX. Thence he passed into Phrygia by Lake Ascania, where salt gathers naturally, and is used by the inhabitants, who thus need no sea salt; in five days he reached Celaenae, where is a steep acropolis, held by a garrison under the satrap of Phrygia, a thousand Carians and a hundred Greek mercenaries. They sent envoys to Alexander, offering—in case help did not come to them on a day previously appointed—this date they specified—to surrender the position. Thus Alexander thought better than a siege of this unassailable position. So he left 1500 troops as a guard over Celaenae. Then he waited there ten days and appointed Antigonus son of Philip satrap, and in his place as commander of the allies Balacrus son of Amyntas: then he set out towards Gordium, ordering Parmenio to meet him there with his force, and so he did. The recently married Macedonians who had gone to Macedonia also made their rendezvous at Gordium, and with them a freshly levied army, led by Ptolemaeus son of Seleucus, Coenus son of Polemocrates and Meleager son of Neoptolemus; there were 3000 Macedonian

ἱππεῖς δὲ ἐς τριακοσίους καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἱππεῖς διακόσιοι, Ἠλείων δὲ ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Ἀλκίας ὁ Ἠλεῖος.

5 Τὸ δὲ Γόρδιον ἔστι μὲν τῆς Φρυγίας τῆς ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου, κεῖται δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Σαγγαρίῳ ποταμῷ· τοῦ δὲ Σαγγαρίου αἱ μὲν πηγαὶ ἐκ Φρυγίας εἰσίν· αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ τῆς Θρᾳκῶν τῶν Βιθυνῶν χώρας ἐξίησιν εἰς τὸν Εὔξεινον πόντον. Ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἀθηναίων πρεσβεία παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἀφίκετο, δεόμενοι Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀφεῖναί σφισι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, οἳ ἐπὶ Γρανικῷ ποταμῷ ἐλήφθησαν Ἀθηναίων ξυστρατευόμενοι τοῖς Πέρσαις καὶ τότε ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ ξὺν τοῖς δισχιλίοις δεδεμένοι ἦσαν· καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἄπρακτοι
6 ἐν τῷ τότε ἀπῆλθον. Οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἔτι συνεστῶτος τοῦ πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην πολέμου, ἀνεῖναί τι τοῦ φόβου τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὅσοι ἐναντία τῇ Ἑλλάδι στρατεύεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν βαρβάρων οὐκ ἀπηξίωσαν· ἀλλ' ἀποκρίνεται, ἐπειδὰν τὰ παρόντα καλῶς γένηται, τότε ἥκειν ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν πρεσβευομένους.

foot, 300 horse, 200 Thessalian horse, 150 Eleians under Alcias the Elean.

Gordium, you must know, is in Hellespontine Phrygia, on the river Sangarius, the springs of which are in Phrygia; it runs through Bithynian Thrace into the Euxine. There also an embassy arrived from Athens begging Alexander to release to them Athenian prisoners captured on the Granicus fighting on the Persian side and now under arrest in Macedonia with the 2000 captives. Their request was not, however, granted, and so they departed. Alexander did not think it wise, with the Persian war still in progress, to relax any terrors for the Greeks who had actually fought with foreigners against Greece; but he answered that when things proved satisfactory they were to approach him again on the same subject.

BOOK II

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ

I. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Μέμνων τοῦ τε ναυτικοῦ
παντὸς ἡγεμὼν ἐκ βασιλέως Δαρείου καθεστηκὼς
καὶ τῆς παραλίου ξυμπάσης, ὡς ἐς Μακεδονίαν
τε καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀποστρέψων τὸν πόλεμον,
Χίον μὲν λαμβάνει προδοσίᾳ ἐνδοθεῖσαν· ἔνθεν
δὲ ἐπὶ Λέσβου πλεύσας, ὡς οὐ προσεῖχον αὐτῷ
οἱ Μιτυληναῖοι, τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις τῆς Λέσβου
2 προσηγάγετο. Ταύτας δὲ παραστησάμενος καὶ
προσσχὼν τῇ Μιτυλήνῃ, τὴν μὲν πόλιν χάρακι
διπλῷ ἐκ θαλάσσης εἰς θάλασσαν ἀπετείχισε,
στρατόπεδα δὲ πέντε ἐποικοδομησάμενος τῆς
γῆς ἐκράτει οὐ χαλεπῶς. Καὶ μέρος μέν τι τῶν
νεῶν τὸν λιμένα αὐτῶν ἐφύλασσε, τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ
τὴν ἄκραν τῆς Λέσβου τὸ Σίγριον, ἵνα ἡ
προσβολὴ μάλιστά ἐστι ταῖς ἀπό τε Χίου καὶ
Γεραιστοῦ καὶ Μαλέας ὁλκάσιν, ἀποστείλας τὸν
παράπλουν ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχεν, ὡς μή τινα ὠφέ-
λειαν κατὰ θάλασσαν γίγνεσθαι τοῖς Μιτυ-
3 ληναίοις. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ αὐτὸς μὲν νόσῳ τελευτᾷ,
καὶ εἴπερ τι ἄλλο, καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τῷ τότε ἔβλαψε
τὰ βασιλέως πράγματα. Αὐτοφραδάτης δὲ καὶ
Φαρνάβαζος ὁ Ἀρταβάζου, ὅτῳ καὶ ἐπέτρεψε
τελευτῶν ὁ Μέμνων τὴν αὑτοῦ ἀρχὴν ἔστε
Δαρεῖόν τι ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς γνῶναι, ἀδελφιδῷ αὐτοῦ
ὄντι, οὗτοι τῇ πολιορκίᾳ οὐκ ἀρρώστως προσέ-
4 κειντο. Καὶ οἱ Μιτυληναῖοι τῆς τε γῆς εἰργό-

BOOK II

I. It was after the above events that Memnon, appointed by Dareius commander-in-chief of the navy and of all the coast-line, with the idea of diverting the war into Macedonia and Greece, captured Chios, delivered over by treachery; thence he sailed to Lesbos, and though Mitylene did not come over to him, he became master of the remaining cities of Lesbos. Disposing of these, he put in at Mitylene, and fenced off the city by a double stockade from sea to sea; then he built five strategic camps and had no trouble in holding the country. Part of his fleet guarded the Mitylenean harbour; other ships he despatched to the promontory of Lesbos, Sigrium, where cargo vessels from Chios and Geraistus and Malea usually put in, and so he patrolled the coast, to prevent help from coming to Mitylene by sea. While thus engaged he fell ill and died; the severest blow during this period to the hopes of Persia. Autophradates, however, and Pharnabazus son of Artabazus, to whom, being his nephew, with his dying breath Memnon handed over his command, till Dareius should take further measures, carried on the blockade vigorously. Mitylene thus barred

μενοι καὶ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πολλαῖς ναυσὶν ἐφορμούσαις φρουρούμενοι, πέμψαντες παρὰ τὸν Φαρνάβαζον ὁμολογίας ἐποιήσαντο, τοὺς μὲν ξένους τοὺς παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου σφίσι κατὰ συμμαχίαν ἥκοντας ἀπελθεῖν, Μιτυληναίους δὲ καθελεῖν μὲν τὰς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρόν σφισι γενομένας στήλας, ξυμμάχους δὲ εἶναι Δαρείου κατὰ τὴν εἰρήνην τὴν ἐπ' Ἀνταλκίδου γενομένην πρὸς βασιλέα Δαρεῖον,[1] τοὺς φυγάδας δὲ αὐτῶν κατιέναι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμίσεσι τῶν τότε ὄντων ὅτε
5 ἔφυγον. Ἐπὶ τούτοις μὲν δὴ ἡ ξύμβασις τοῖς Μιτυληναίοις πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας ξυνέβη. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ καὶ Αὐτοφραδάτης, ὡς παρῆλθον ἅπαξ εἴσω τῆς πόλεως, φρουράν τε ἐς αὐτὴν εἰσήγαγον καὶ φρούραρχον ἐπ' αὐτῇ Λυκομήδην Ῥόδιον, καὶ τύραννον ἐγκατέστησαν τῇ πόλει Διογένην, ἕνα τῶν φυγάδων· χρήματά τε εἰσέπραξαν τοὺς Μιτυληναίους τὰ μὲν βίᾳ ἀφελόμενοι τοὺς ἔχοντας, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἐπιβαλόντες.

II. Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενοι Φαρνάβαζος μὲν ἔπλει ἐπὶ Λυκίας ἄγων τοὺς ξένους τοὺς μισθοφόρους, Αὐτοφραδάτης δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας νήσους. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ καταπέμπει Δαρεῖος Θυμώνδαν τὸν Μέντορος, αὐτὸν μὲν τοὺς ξένους παρὰ Φαρναβάζου παραληψόμενον καὶ ἀνάξοντα παρὰ βασιλέα, Φαρναβάζῳ δὲ ἐροῦντα ἄρχειν ὅσων
2 Μέμνων ἦρχε. Καὶ παραδοὺς τούτῳ τοὺς ξένους Φαρνάβαζος ἔπλει παρ' Αὐτοφραδάτην ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς. Ὡς δὲ ὁμοῦ ἐγένοντο, δέκα μὲν ναῦς

[1] Δαρεῖον Ellendt omits; the error is possibly Arrian's. So also in II. 2 below.

from the landward side and watched on the seaward side by a flotilla of blockading ships sent to Pharnabazus, and undertook that the mercenaries whom Alexander had despatched to fight for them should be sent about their business, that the Mityleneans should remove the pillars on which were inscribed their agreement with Alexander, and become allies of Dareius on the basis of the peace of Antalcidas with King Dareius, and that the exiles should return into possession of half the property held at the time of their exile. Such were the terms of the Mitylenean agreement with the Persians. Pharnabazus, however, and Autophradates, once within the city, brought in a garrison and set Lycomedes of Rhodes in command of it, and made Diogenes, one of the exiles, tyrant over the city: they also exacted a fine from Mitylene, taking part from the rich citizens by force, and the rest by a general tax.

II. When they had made these dispositions, Pharnabazus sailed towards Lycia with the mercenaries, Autophradates to the other islands. At this time Dareius sent Thymondas son of Mentor to take over the mercenaries from Pharnabazus and lead them to Dareius, and to instruct Pharnabazus to take over Memnon's command. Pharnabazus duly handed over the mercenaries to Thymondas, and sailed to join the fleet and Autophradates. On rejoining they sent ten ships to the Cyclades under

στέλλουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς Κυκλάδας νήσους Δατάμην ἄνδρα Πέρσην ἄγοντα, αὐτοὶ δὲ ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ Τενέδου ἔπλευσαν· κατακομισθέντες δὲ τῆς Τενέδου ἐς τὸν Βόρειον καλούμενον λιμένα πέμπουσι παρὰ τοὺς Τενεδίους καὶ κελεύουσι τὰς στήλας τὰς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας γενομένας σφίσι, ταύτας μὲν καθελεῖν, πρὸς Δαρεῖον δὲ ἄγειν τὴν εἰρήνην ἣν ἐπὶ
3 Ἀνταλκίδου Δαρείῳ συνέθεντο. Τενεδίοις δὲ τὰ μὲν τῆς εὐνοίας ἐς Ἀλέξανδρόν τε καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐποίει μᾶλλον· ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι ἄπορον ἄλλως ἐδόκει ὅτι μὴ προσχωρήσαντας τοῖς Πέρσαις σώζεσθαι· ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ Ἡγελόχῳ, ὅτῳ προσετέτακτο ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου αὖθις ξυναγαγεῖν δύναμιν ναυτικήν, τοσαύτη ξυνηγμένη ἦν ὡς δι' ὀλίγου προσδοκᾶν ἔσεσθαι ἄν σφισι παρ' αὐτοῦ τινὰ ὠφέλειαν. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ οἱ ἀμφὶ Φαρνάβαζον τοὺς Τενεδίους φόβῳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐθέλοντας παρεστήσαντο.

4 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Πρωτέας ὁ Ἀνδρονίκου ἐτύγχανε μὲν ξυναγαγὼν ἐξ Εὐβοίας τε καὶ Πελοποννήσου ναῦς μακράς, ὑπὸ Ἀντιπάτρου τεταγμένος, ὡς εἶναί τινα ταῖς τε νήσοις φυλακὴν καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ Ἑλλάδι, εἰ, καθάπερ ἐξηγγέλλετο, ἐπιπλέοιεν οἱ βάρβαροι· πυθόμενος δὲ Δατάμην περὶ Σίφνον ὁρμεῖν δέκα ναυσίν, αὐτὸς ἔχων πεντεκαίδεκα νυκτὸς ἀνάγεται ἐπὶ Χαλκίδος τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ
5 Εὐρίπῳ· καὶ προσσχὼν ἕωθεν Κύθνῳ τῇ νήσῳ τὴν μὲν ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ αὐλίζεται, ὡς σαφέστερόν τε διαπυθέσθαι τὰ περὶ τῶν δέκα νεῶν καὶ ἅμα ἐν νυκτὶ φοβερώτερον προσπεσεῖν τοῖς Φοίνιξιν· ὡς δὲ ἔμαθε σαφῶς τὸν Δατάμην ξὺν ταῖς

Datames, a Persian, while they proceeded with a hundred sail to Tenedos. They reached the "north harbour" of Tenedos and sent to the city and ordered the destruction of the inscribed pillars of the agreement made by Tenedos with Alexander and the Greeks, and the observance of the Peace of Antalcidas made with Dareius. The whole inclination of Tenedos was towards Alexander and the Greeks; but at the moment there seemed no other hope of safety save in accepting the Persian terms, since Hegelochus, who had orders from Alexander again to assemble a fleet, had not raised a sufficient force to expect from him any speedy help. It was in this way rather by terrorism than by their will that Pharnabazus received the surrender of the island of Tenedos.

Meanwhile Proteas son of Andronicus had collected from Euboea and the Peloponnese certain ships of the line, as ordered by Antipatros, so as to be a naval guard to the islands and the mainland of Greece, supposing—as reports suggested—that the Persians should descend upon it. But learning that Datames was anchored near Siphnos with ten ships he put to sea with fifteen sail by night towards Chalcis on the Euripus. Then at dawn putting in at the island of Cythnus, he lay there during the day-time, to get surer intelligence about the ten ships, and also to swoop down on the Phoenicians at night, which would scare them the more. Finding for certain that Datames was anchored at Siphnos,

ναυσὶν ἐν Σίφνῳ ὁρμοῦντα, ἐπιπλεύσας ἔτι νυκτὸς ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἕω καὶ ἀπροσδοκήτοις ἐπιπεσὼν ὀκτὼ μὲν ναῦς αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἔλαβε· Δατάμης δὲ μετὰ δυοῖν τριηροῖν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ προσμίξει τῶν ἅμα Πρωτέᾳ νεῶν ὑπεκφυγὼν ἀπεσώθη πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο ναυτικόν.

III. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἐς Γόρδιον παρῆλθε, πόθος λαμβάνει αὐτὸν ἀνελθόντα ἐς τὴν ἄκραν, ἵνα καὶ τὰ βασίλεια ἦν τὰ Γορδίου καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Μίδου, τὴν ἅμαξαν ἰδεῖν τοῦ Γορδίου καὶ τοῦ ζυγοῦ τῆς ἁμάξης τὸν δεσμόν.
2 Λόγος δὲ περὶ τῆς ἁμάξης ἐκείνης παρὰ τοῖς προσχώροις πολὺς κατεῖχε, Γόρδιον εἶναι τῶν πάλαι Φρυγῶν ἄνδρα πένητα καὶ ὀλίγην εἶναι αὐτῷ γῆν ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ ζεύγη βοῶν δύο· καὶ τῷ μὲν ἀροτριᾶν, τῷ δὲ ἁμαξεύειν τὸν Γόρδιον.
3 Καί ποτε ἀροῦντος αὐτοῦ ἐπιπτῆναι ἐπὶ τὸν ζυγὸν ἀετὸν καὶ ἐπιμεῖναι ἔστε ἐπὶ βουλυτὸν καθήμενον· τὸν δὲ ἐκπλαγέντα τῇ ὄψει ἰέναι κοινώσοντα ὑπὲρ τοῦ θείου παρὰ τοὺς Τελμισσέας τοὺς μάντεις· εἶναι γὰρ τοὺς Τελμισσέας σοφοὺς τὰ θεῖα ἐξηγεῖσθαι, καί σφισιν ἀπὸ γένους δεδόσθαι αὐτοῖς καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶ τὴν
4 μαντείαν. Προσάγοντα δὲ κώμῃ τινὶ τῶν Τελμισσέων ἐντυχεῖν παρθένῳ ὑδρευομένῃ, καὶ πρὸς ταύτην εἰπεῖν ὅπως οἱ τὸ τοῦ ἀετοῦ ἔσχε· τὴν δέ (εἶναι γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴν τοῦ μαντικοῦ γένους) θύειν κελεῦσαι τῷ Διὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἐπανελθόντα εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτόν. Καὶ δεηθῆναι γὰρ αὐτῆς Γόρδιον, τὴν θυσίαν ξυνεπισπομένην οἱ αὐτὴν ἐξηγήσασθαι, θῦσαί τε ὅπως ἐκείνη ὑπετίθετο τὸν Γόρδιον καὶ ξυγγενέσθαι ἐπὶ γάμῳ τῇ παιδὶ καὶ

he sailed to the attack, night though it was, attacking just at dawn when the enemy expected nothing, and capturing eight ships with their crews; Datames with two triremes fled unobserved at the first charge of Proteas' ships and safely joined the rest of the fleet.

III. Alexander, then, reached Gordium, and was seized with an ardent desire to ascend to the acropolis, where was the palace of Gordius and his son Midas, and to look at Gordius' wagon and the knot of the chariot's yoke. There was a widespread tradition about this chariot around the countryside; Gordius, they said, was a poor man of the Phrygians of old, who tilled a scanty parcel of earth and had but two yoke of oxen: with one he ploughed, with the other he drove his wagon. Once, as he was ploughing, an eagle settled on the yoke and stayed, perched there, till it was time to loose the oxen; Gordius was astonished at the portent, and went off to consult the Telmissian prophets, who were skilled in the interpretation of prodigies, inheriting—women and children too—the prophetic gift. Approaching a Telmissian village, he met a girl drawing water and told her the story of the eagle; she, being also of the prophetic line, bade him return to the spot and sacrifice to Zeus the King. So then Gordius begged her to come along with him and assist in the sacrifice; and at the spot duly sacrificed as she directed,

5 γενέσθαι αὐτοῖν παῖδα Μίδαν ὄνομα. Ἤδη τε ἄνδρα εἶναι τὸν Μίδαν καλὸν καὶ γενναῖον, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ στάσει πιέζεσθαι ἐν σφίσι τοὺς Φρύγας, καὶ γενέσθαι αὐτοῖς χρησμὸν ὅτι ἅμαξα ἄξει αὐτοῖς βασιλέα καὶ ὅτι οὗτος αὐτοῖς καταπαύσει τὴν στάσιν. Ἔτι δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων βουλευομένοις ἐλθεῖν τὸν Μίδαν ὁμοῦ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ καὶ ἐπιστῆναι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ αὐτῇ
6 ἁμάξῃ. Τοὺς δὲ ξυμβαλόντας τὸ μαντεῖον τοῦτον ἐκεῖνον γνῶναι ὄντα ὅντινα ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς ἔφραζεν ὅτι ἄξει ἡ ἅμαξα· καὶ καταστῆσαι μὲν αὐτοὺς βασιλέα τὸν Μίδαν, Μίδαν δὲ αὐτοῖς τὴν στάσιν καταπαῦσαι, καὶ τὴν ἅμαξαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ ἀναθεῖναι χαριστήρια τῷ Διὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ἀετοῦ πομπῇ. Πρὸς δὲ δὴ τούτοις καὶ τόδε περὶ τῆς ἁμάξης ἐμυθεύετο, ὅστις λύσειε τοῦ ζυγοῦ τῆς ἁμάξης τὸν δεσμόν,
7 τοῦτον χρῆναι ἄρξαι τῆς Ἀσίας. Ἦν δὲ ὁ δεσμὸς ἐκ φλοιοῦ κρανέας, καὶ τούτου οὔτε τέλος οὔτε ἀρχὴ ἐφαίνετο. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἀπόρως μὲν εἶχεν ἐξευρεῖν λύσιν τοῦ δεσμοῦ, ἄλυτον δὲ περιιδεῖν οὐκ ἤθελε, μή τινα καὶ τοῦτο ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς κίνησιν ἐργάσηται, οἱ μὲν λέγουσιν ὅτι παίσας τῷ ξίφει διέκοψε τὸν δεσμὸν καὶ λελύσθαι ἔφη· Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ λέγει ἐξελόντα τὸν ἕστορα τοῦ ῥυμοῦ, ὃς ἦν τύλος διαβεβλημένος διὰ τοῦ ῥυμοῦ διαμπάξ, συνέχων τὸν δεσμόν, ἐξελκύσαι ἔξω τοῦ ῥυμοῦ τὸ ζυγόν.
8 Ὅπως μὲν δὴ ἐπράχθη τὰ ἀμφὶ τῷ δεσμῷ τούτῳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, οὐκ ἔχω ἰσχυρίσασθαι. Ἀπηλλάγη δ᾽ οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμάξης αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ ἀμφ᾽ αὐτὸν ὡς τοῦ λογίου τοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ λύσει

married the girl, and had a son called Midas. Midas was already a grown man, handsome and noble, when the Phrygians were in trouble with civil war; they received an oracle that a chariot would bring them a king and he would stop the war. True enough, while they were discussing this, there arrived Midas, with his parents, and drove, chariot and all, into the assembly. The Phrygians, interpreting the oracle, decided that he was the man whom the gods had told them would come in a chariot; they thereupon made him king, and he put an end to the civil war. The chariot of his father he set up in the acropolis as a thank-offering to Zeus the King for sending the eagle. Over and above this there was a story about the wagon, that anyone who should untie the knot of the yoke should be lord of Asia. This knot was of cornel bark, and you could see neither beginning nor end of it. Alexander, unable to find how to untie the knot, and not brooking to leave it tied, lest this might cause some disturbance in the vulgar, smote it with his sword, cut the knot, and exclaimed, "I have loosed it!"—so at least say some, but Aristobulus puts it that he took out the pole pin, a dowel driven right through the pole, holding the knot together, and so removed the yoke from the pole. I do not attempt to be precise how Alexander actually dealt with this knot. Anyway, he and his suite left the wagon with the impression that the oracle about the loosed knot had

τοῦ δεσμοῦ συμβεβηκότος. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τῆς
νυκτὸς ἐκείνης βρονταί τε καὶ σέλας ἐξ οὐρανοῦ
ἐπεσήμηναν· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔθυε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ
Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖς φήνασι θεοῖς τά τε σημεῖα καὶ
τοῦ δεσμοῦ τὴν λύσιν.

IV. Αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπ' Ἀγκύρας τῆς
Γαλατικῆς ἐστέλλετο· κἀκεῖ αὐτῷ πρεσβεία
ἀφικνεῖται Παφλαγόνων, τό τε ἔθνος ἐνδιδόντων
καὶ ἐς ὁμολογίαν ξυμβαινόντων· ἐς δὲ τὴν χώραν
2 σὺν τῇ δυνάμει μὴ ἐσβαλεῖν ἐδέοντο. Τούτοις
μὲν δὴ προστάσσει Ἀλέξανδρος ὑπακούειν Κάλᾳ
τῷ σατράπῃ τῆς Φρυγίας. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς
Καππαδοκίας ἐλάσας ξύμπασαν τὴν ἐντὸς Ἅλυος
ποταμοῦ προσηγάγετο καὶ ἔτι ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἅλυν
πολλήν. Καταστήσας δὲ Καππαδόκων Σαβίκταν
σατράπην, αὐτὸς προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας τὰς
3 Κιλικίας. Καὶ ἀφικόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ Κύρου τοῦ
ξὺν Ξενοφῶντι στρατόπεδον, ὡς κατεχομένας
τὰς πύλας φυλακαῖς ἰσχυραῖς εἶδε, Παρμενίωνα
μὲν αὐτοῦ καταλείπει σὺν ταῖς τάξεσι τῶν
πεζῶν ὅσοι βαρύτερον ὡπλισμένοι ἦσαν· αὐτὸς
δὲ ἀμφὶ πρώτην φυλακὴν ἀναλαβὼν τούς τε
ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας, προῆγε τῆς
νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας, ὡς οὐ προσδεχομένοις
4 τοῖς φύλαξιν ἐπιπεσεῖν. Καὶ προσάγων μὲν οὐκ
ἔλαθεν, ἐς ἴσον δὲ αὐτῷ κατέστη ἡ τόλμα. Οἱ
γὰρ φύλακες αἰσθόμενοι Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸν
προσάγοντα, λιπόντες τὴν φυλακὴν ᾤχοντο
φεύγοντες. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἅμα τῇ ἕῳ ξὺν τῇ
δυνάμει πάσῃ ὑπερβαλὼν τὰς πύλας κατέβαινεν
5 ἐς τὴν Κιλικίαν. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀγγέλλεται αὐτῷ
Ἀρσάμης ὅτι πρόσθεν μὲν ἐπενόει διασώζειν

been duly fulfilled. It is certain that there were that night thunderings and lightnings, which indicated this; so Alexander in thanksgiving offered sacrifice next day to whatever gods had sent the signs and certified the undoing of the knot.

IV. Next day Alexander set forward towards Ancyra of Galatia; there an embassy of Paphlagonians met him, giving submission of their tribe and agreeing to terms; they begged him not to enter their country in force. Alexander instructed them to take orders from Calas, satrap of Phrygia. He himself marched to Cappadocia, received surrender of all this country this side of the River Halys and a good deal of the far side. He made Sabiktas satrap of Cappadocia and pushed on to the Cilician gates. When he reached the camp of Cyrus, who had been with Xenophon, and saw the Gates strongly held, he left Parmenio there with heavier-armed foot battalions, while he himself, about the first watch, took the bodyguard, archers and Agrianes, and marched by night to the Gates, meaning to take the guards unawares. But his march was observed; none the less, the enterprise succeeded; for the guards, finding that he was leading in person, left their posts and fled. Next day at dawn he passed the Gates with his full force and descended into Cilicia. There it was reported to him that Arsames, who had all along been anxious

Πέρσαις τὴν Ταρσόν, ὡς δὲ ὑπερβεβληκότα ἤδη τὰς πύλας ἐπύθετο Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐκλιπεῖν ἐν νῷ εἶχε τὴν πόλιν· δεδιέναι οὖν τοὺς Ταρσέας μὴ ἐφ' ἁρπαγὴν τραπεὶς οὕτω τὴν ἀπόλειψιν τῆς
6 Ταρσοῦ ποιήσηται. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας δρόμῳ ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ταρσὸν τούς τε ἱππέας καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν ὅσοι κουφότατοι, ὥστε ὁ Ἀρσάμης μαθὼν αὐτοῦ τὴν ὁρμὴν σπουδῇ φεύγει ἐκ τῆς Ταρσοῦ παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον, οὐδὲν βλάψας τὴν πόλιν.

7 Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ὡς μὲν Ἀριστοβούλῳ λέλεκται, ὑπὸ καμάτου ἐνόσησεν· οἱ δὲ εἰς τὸν Κύδνον ποταμὸν λέγουσι ῥίψαντα νήξασθαι, ἐπιθυμήσαντα τοῦ ὕδατος, ἱδροῦντα καὶ καύματι ἐχόμενον. Ὁ δὲ Κύδνος ῥεῖ διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως· οἷα δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ταύρου ὄρους τῶν πηγῶν οἱ ἀνισχουσῶν καὶ διὰ χώρου καθαροῦ ῥέων, ψυχρός τέ ἐστι
8 καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καθαρός. Σπασμῷ τε οὖν ἔχεσθαι Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ θέρμαις ἰσχυραῖς καὶ ἀγρυπνίᾳ ξυνεχεῖ. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἰατροὺς οὐκ οἴεσθαι εἶναι βιώσιμον, Φίλιππον δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνα, ἰατρόν, ξυνόντα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ τά τε ἀμφὶ ἰατρικὴν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα πιστευόμενον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα οὐκ ἀδόκιμον ἐν τῷ στρατῷ ὄντα, καθῆραι ἐθέλειν Ἀλέξανδρον φαρμάκῳ· καὶ τὸν κελεύειν
9 καθῆραι. Τὸν μὲν δὴ παρασκευάζειν τὴν κύλικα· ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δοθῆναι ἐπιστολὴν παρὰ Παρμενίωνος φυλάξασθαι Φίλιππον· ἀκούειν γὰρ διεφθάρθαι ὑπὸ Δαρείου χρήμασιν, ὥστε φαρμάκῳ ἀποκτεῖναι Ἀλέξανδρον. Τὸν δέ, ἀναγνόντα τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ ἔτι μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχοντα, αὐτὸν μὲν λαβεῖν τὴν κύλικα ἐν ᾗ ἦν τὸ φάρμακον· τὴν ἐπιστολὴν δὲ τῷ Φιλίππῳ δοῦναι ἀναγνῶναι.

to save Tarsus for the Persians, learning that he had passed the Gates, was minded to desert the city; so the Tarsians were afraid he would plunder the city before deserting it. Learning this, Alexander brought up at full speed the cavalry and the lighter mobile troops, so that Arsames learning of his onrush fled to King Dareius without harming the city.

Here Alexander fell ill from fatigue; so at least Aristobulus says; others relate that he dived into the River Cydnus and had a swim, anxious for the bathe since he was forworn with sweat and heat. The Cydnus runs right through the city, and as its springs are in Mount Taurus, and it runs through open country, it is cold and clear. Alexander therefore caught a cramp, and suffered from violent fever and insomnia. All his physicians gave him up save Philip, an Acarnanian doctor, who attended him, very much trusted in medical matters, and, moreover, a brave man in the field; he proposed a strong purge; and Alexander bade him administer it. He made up the draught therefore; at the moment a note was given Alexander from Parmenio, "Beware Philip! I learn that Dareius has bribed him to murder you." Alexander read the letter, held it in his hand, took the glass with the draught, and gave the note to Philip to read. At one and the

10 Καὶ ὁμοῦ τόν τε Ἀλέξανδρον πίνειν καὶ τὸν Φίλιππον ἀναγινώσκειν τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Παρμενίωνος. Φίλιππον δὲ εὐθὺς ἔνδηλον γενέσθαι ὅτι καλῶς οἱ ἔχει τὰ τοῦ φαρμάκου· οὐ γὰρ ἐκπλαγῆναι πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ἀλλὰ τοσόνδε μόνον παρακαλέσαι Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα οἱ πείθεσθαι ὅσα ἐπαγγέλλοιτο· σωθήσεσθαι γὰρ
11 πειθόμενον. Καὶ τὸν μὲν καθαρθῆναί τε καὶ ῥαῖσαι αὐτῷ τὸ νόσημα, Φιλίππῳ δὲ ἐπιδεῖξαι ὅτι πιστός ἐστιν αὐτῷ φίλος, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δὲ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ὅτι αὐτοῖς τε τοῖς φίλοις βέβαιος εἰς τὸ ἀνύποπτον τυγχάνει ὢν καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀποθανεῖν ἐρρωμένος.

V. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Παρμενίωνα μὲν πέμπει ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας πύλας, αἳ δὴ ὁρίζουσι τὴν Κιλίκων τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων χώραν, προκαταλαβεῖν καὶ φυλάσσειν τὴν πάροδον, δοὺς αὐτῷ τῶν τε ξυμμάχων τοὺς πεζοὺς καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας τοὺς μισθοφόρους καὶ τοὺς Θρᾷκας, ὧν Σιτάλκης ἡγεῖτο, καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας δὲ τοὺς Θεσσαλούς.
2 Αὐτὸς δὲ ὕστερος ἄρας ἐκ Ταρσοῦ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἐς Ἀγχίαλον πόλιν ἀφικνεῖται. Ταύτην δὲ Σαρδανάπαλον κτίσαι τὸν Ἀσσύριον λόγος· καὶ τῷ περιβόλῳ δὲ καὶ τοῖς θεμελίοις τῶν τειχῶν δήλη ἐστὶ μεγάλη τε πόλις κτισθεῖσα καὶ ἐπὶ
3 μέγα ἐλθοῦσα δυνάμεως. Καὶ τὸ μνῆμα τοῦ Σαρδαναπάλου ἐγγὺς ἦν τῶν τειχῶν τῆς Ἀγχιάλου· καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφειστήκει ἐπ' αὐτῷ Σαρδανάπαλος συμβεβληκὼς τὰς χεῖρας ἀλλήλαις ὡς μάλιστα ἐς κρότον συμβάλλονται, καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπεγέγραπτο αὐτῷ Ἀσσύρια γράμματα· οἱ μὲν Ἀσσύριοι καὶ μέτρον ἔφασκον

same moment Alexander drank the dose and Philip read Parmenio's note. At once Philip made clear that all was well with his prescription; he showed no guilty conscience at the letter, but bade Alexander follow out his remaining instructions; obedience would mean recovery. The purge worked and eased the illness; and Alexander gave proof to Philip that he was his firm friend, as also to his suite generally that he trusted and did not suspect his friends; and he showed also his bravery in face of death.

V. Next he sent Parmenio to the other Gates which divide the Cilician and Assyrian territories, to seize and occupy the pass, giving him the allied infantry, the Greek mercenaries, and the Thracians under Sitalces, with the Thessalian horse. Later on, he left Tarsus, and in one day reached Anchialus, founded, as legend says, by Sardanapalus the Assyrian. The circumference and the foundations of the walls show that the city was, when founded, a large one, and grew to great power. Sardanapalus' tomb was near the walls of Anchialus; over it stood Sardanapalus himself, his hands joined as if to clap, and an epitaph was inscribed in the Assyrian script; the Assyrians said that it was in

4 ἐπεῖναι τῷ ἐπιγράμματι, ὁ δὲ νοῦς ἦν αὐτῷ ὃν ἔφραζε τὰ ἔπη, ὅτι Σαρδανάπαλος ὁ Ἀνακυνδαράξου παῖς Ἀγχίαλον καὶ Ταρσὸν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ ἐδείματο. Σὺ δέ, ὦ ξένε, ἔσθιε καὶ πῖνε καὶ παῖζε, ὡς τἆλλα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα οὐκ ὄντα τούτου ἄξια· τὸν ψόφον αἰνισσόμενος ὅνπερ αἱ χεῖρες ἐπὶ τῷ κρότῳ ποιοῦσι· καὶ τὸ παῖζε ῥᾳδιουργότερον ἐγγεγράφθαι ἔφασαν τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ ὀνόματι.

5 Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἀγχιάλου ἐς Σόλους ἀφίκετο· καὶ φρουρὰν ἐπήγαγεν ἐς Σόλους καὶ ἐπέβαλεν αὐτοῖς τάλαντα διακόσια ἀργυρίου ζημίαν, ὅτι πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας μᾶλλόν τι τὸν νοῦν εἶχον.

6 Ἔνθεν δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τῶν μὲν πεζῶν τῶν Μακεδόνων τρεῖς τάξεις, τοὺς τοξότας δὲ πάντας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας ἐξελαύνει ἐπὶ τοὺς τὰ ὄρη κατέχοντας Κίλικας. Καὶ ἐν ἑπτὰ ταῖς πάσαις ἡμέραις τοὺς μὲν βίᾳ ἐξελών, τοὺς δὲ ὁμολογίᾳ παραστησάμενος, ἐπανῆκεν ἐς τοὺς Σόλους.

7 Καὶ ἐνταῦθα μανθάνει Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Ἄσανδρον ὅτι ἐκράτησαν Ὀροντοβάτου τοῦ Πέρσου, ὃς τήν τε ἄκραν τῆς Ἁλικαρνασσοῦ ἐφύλασσε καὶ Μύνδον καὶ Καῦνον καὶ Θήραν καὶ Καλλίπολιν κατεῖχε· προσῆκτο δὲ καὶ Κῶ καὶ Τριόπιον. Τοῦτον ἡττῆσθαι ἔγραφον μάχῃ μεγάλῃ καὶ ἀποθανεῖν μὲν τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν πεζοὺς ἐς ἑπτακοσίους καὶ ἱππέας ἐς πεντήκοντα, ἁλῶναι

8 δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν χιλίων. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐν Σόλοις θύσας τε τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ πομπεύσας αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ πᾶσα, καὶ λαμπάδα ἐπιτελέσας καὶ ἀγῶνα διαθεὶς γυμνικὸν καὶ μουσικὸν Σολεῦσι μὲν δημοκρατεῖσθαι ἔδωκεν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναζεύξας ἐς Ταρσὸν τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας

verse. In any case the general meaning was: "Sardanapalus son of Anakyndaraxes built Anchialus and Tarsus in one day;[1] do thou, stranger, eat and drink and be merry, since other human things are not worth *this*"—the idea being the hand-clap; and (it was said) the word "be merry" had a less delicate original in the Assyrian.

From Anchialus he reached Soli; he took a guard into Soli, and fined them two hundred silver talents, because they were still inclined towards Persia. Thence he took three battalions of the Macedonian infantry, all the archers, and the Agrianes, and marched upon the Cilicians who held the heights. In seven days—no more—he partly drove them out, partly received surrenders, and returned to Soli. There he learnt that Ptolemaeus and Asandros had conquered Orontobates the Persian, who was guarding the citadel of Halicarnassus and held Myndus, Cannus, Thera, and Callipolis, and had won over also Cos and Triopium. The message was that they had beaten him in a pitched battle with a loss of 700 of his foot and 50 cavalry, and at least 1000 prisoners. At Soli Alexander sacrificed to Asclepius, and held a review of his whole army, with a torch relay race and athletic and literary competitions. Soli he allowed to continue democratic. He then proceeded to Tarsus and sent the cavalry to Philotas, to take

[1] See Aristobulus ap. Strabo, p. 672; Athenaeus xii. p. 529. Arrian here seems to follow Ptolemaeus.

ἀπέστειλε Φιλώτᾳ δοὺς ἄγειν διὰ τοῦ Ἀληίου
9 πεδίου ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Πύραμον, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς πεζοῖς καὶ τῇ ἴλῃ τῇ βασιλικῇ ἐς Μαγαρσὸν ἧκε καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Μαγαρσίδι ἔθυσεν. Ἔνθεν δὲ ἐς Μαλλὸν ἀφίκετο καὶ Ἀμφιλόχῳ ὅσα ἥρωι ἐνήγισε· καὶ στασιάζοντας καταλαβὼν τὴν στάσιν αὐτοῖς κατέπαυσε· καὶ τοὺς φόρους οὓς βασιλεῖ Δαρείῳ ἀπέφερον ἀνῆκεν, ὅτι Ἀργείων μὲν Μαλλωταὶ ἄποικοι ἦσαν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπ' Ἄργους τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν εἶναι ἠξίου.

VI. Ἔτι δὲ ἐν Μαλλῷ ὄντι αὐτῷ ἀγγέλλεται Δαρεῖον ἐν Σώχοις ξὺν τῇ πάσῃ δυνάμει στρατοπεδεύειν. Ὁ δὲ χῶρος οὗτος ἔστι μὲν τῆς Ἀσσυρίας γῆς, ἀπέχει δὲ τῶν πυλῶν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἐς δύο μάλιστα σταθμούς. Ἔνθα δὴ ξυναγαγὼν τοὺς ἑταίρους φράζει αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐξηγγελμένα ὑπὲρ Δαρείου τε καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς Δαρείου. Οἱ δὲ αὐτόθεν ὡς εἶχον ἄγειν ἐκέ-
2 λευον. Ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν ἐπαινέσας αὐτοὺς διέλυσε τὸν ξύλλογον, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ προῆγεν ὡς ἐπὶ Δαρεῖόν τε καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας. Δευτεραῖος δὲ ὑπερβαλὼν τὰς πύλας ἐστρατοπέδευσε πρὸς Μυριάνδρῳ πόλει· καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς χειμὼν ἐπιγίγνεται σκληρὸς καὶ ὕδωρ τε ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ πνεῦμα βίαιον· τοῦτο κατέσχεν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ Ἀλέξανδρον.

3 Δαρεῖος δὲ τέως μὲν ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ διέτριβεν, ἐπιλεξάμενος τῆς Ἀσσυρίας γῆς πεδίον πάντῃ ἀναπεπταμένον καὶ τῷ τε πλήθει τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπιτήδειον καὶ ἐνιππάσασθαι τῇ ἵππῳ ξύμφορον. Καὶ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ξυνεβούλευσεν αὐτῷ μὴ ἀπολιπεῖν[1] Ἀμύντας ὁ τοῦ Ἀντιόχου, ὁ παρ'

[1] Text B. A^1 ἀπολείπειν which though less exact may well be original.

them to the River Pyramus through the Aleian plain. Then he, with the infantry and the royal squadron, went to Magarsus and sacrificed to Athena of Magarsus. Thence he came to Mallus and made due offerings to Amphilochus, as a hero; he found the Mallians in civil commotion and put a stop to it; he remitted the tribute paid to Dareius, since Mallus was a colony of Argos, and he himself claimed descent from the Argive Heracleidae.

VI. Alexander was still at Mallus when a report came that Dareius with his full force was encamped at Sochi, a place in Assyrian territory, two marching days from the Assyrian Gates. Alexander therefore assembled his staff and told them the news of Dareius and his march, on which they urged him to lead straight on. He thereupon thanked them and dismissed the Council; and next day he marched as if to attack Dareius and the Persians. In two days he passed the Gates and camped near Myriandrus, and in the night there came a severe storm, heavy rain, and violent gale, which kept Alexander in his camp.

Dareius meanwhile dallied with his army, since he had selected a plain in the Assyrian land as being open all round, convenient for the multitude of his host, and suitable for the manœuvres of his horsemen. Amyntas son of Antiochus, a deserter from

Ἀλεξάνδρου αὐτόμολος· εἶναι γὰρ τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν πρὸς τοῦ πλήθους τε καὶ τῆς σκευῆς τῶν Περσῶν.
4 Καὶ ἔμενε Δαρεῖος. Ὡς δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πολλὴ μὲν ἐν Ταρσῷ τριβὴ ἐπὶ τῇ νόσῳ ἐγίγνετο, οὐκ ὀλίγη δὲ ἐν Σόλοις, ἵνα ἔθυέ τε καὶ ἐπόμπευε, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀρεινοὺς Κίλικας διέτριψεν ἐξελάσας, τοῦτο ἔσφηλε Δαρεῖον τῆς γνώμης· καὶ αὐτός τε ὅτιπερ ἥδιστον ἦν δοξασθέν, ἐς τοῦτο οὐκ ἀκουσίως ὑπήχθη, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν καθ' ἡδονὴν ξυνόντων τε καὶ ξυνεσομένων ἐπὶ κακῷ τοῖς ἀεὶ βασιλεύουσιν ἐπαιρόμενος ἔγνω μηκέτι Ἀλέξανδρον ἐθέλειν
5 προϊέναι τοῦ πρόσω· ἀλλ' ὀκνεῖν γὰρ πυνθανόμενον ὅτι αὐτὸς προσάγοι· καταπατήσειν τε τῇ ἵππῳ τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν στρατιὰν ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν αὐτῷ ἐπαίροντες ἐπέλεγον· καίτοι[1] γε Ἀμύντας ἥξειν τε Ἀλέξανδρον ἰσχυρίζετο ὅπου ἂν πύθηται Δαρεῖον ὄντα, καὶ αὐτοῦ προσμένειν
6 ἐκέλευεν. Ἀλλὰ τὰ χείρω μᾶλλον, ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα ἡδίω ἀκοῦσαι ἦν, ἔπειθε· καί τι καὶ δαιμόνιον τυχὸν ἦγεν αὐτὸν εἰς ἐκεῖνον τὸν χῶρον, οὗ μήτε ἐκ τῆς ἵππου πολλὴ ὠφέλεια αὐτῷ ἐγένετο, μήτε ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους αὐτοῦ τῶν τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἀκοντίων τε καὶ τοξευμάτων, μηδὲ τὴν λαμπρότητα αὐτὴν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπιδεῖξαι ἠδυνήθη, ἀλλὰ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τε καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εὐμαρῶς τὴν νίκην παρέδωκεν.
7 Ἐχρῆν γὰρ ἤδη καὶ Πέρσας πρὸς Μακεδόνων ἀφαιρεθῆναι τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν ἀρχήν, καθάπερ οὖν Μῆδοι μὲν πρὸς Περσῶν ἀνηρέθησαν, πρὸς Μήδων δὲ ἔτι ἔμπροσθεν Ἀσσύριοι.

[1] *καίτοι δ γε* Sintenis with probability; Arrian is inexact in position of *γε τε δέ*, yet does not usually follow *καίτοι* by these directly, but with some word interposed.

Alexander, advised him not to leave this country; there was, he said, elbow-room favourable for the numbers and the equipment of the Persians. Dareius then abode where he was. But Alexander having spent much time in Tarsus on account of his illness, and a good deal at Soli, where he sacrificed and held the review, and again spent some days in his raid on the Cilician hillmen, all this delay made Dareius waver in his decisions. Moreover, Dareius' wishes generally coloured his thoughts, and he liked the pleasanter thoughts; and false courtiers, such as will always haunt kings, led him on to decide that Alexander had no wish to proceed further. In fact, they said, he was hesitating on hearing of Dareius' own approach. On all sides they egged him on, telling him that he would trample underfoot the Madeconian force with his cavalry. Amyntas, however, persisted that Alexander would come wherever he found Dareius to be, and bade him remain where he was. But it was the pleasanter, and so the worse, counsels which prevailed; moreover, some evil genius led Dareius into the very position where his cavalry did not much help him, nor indeed his numbers, his store of javelins, and of archery; where he could make no display of the splendour of his army, but made a mere gift of the victory to Alexander and his force. Fate indeed had resolved that Persia should forfeit the sovereignty of Asia to Macedon, as Media had lost it to Persia, and Assyria, even earlier, to Media.

VII. Ὑπερβαλὼν δὴ τὸ ὄρος Δαρεῖος τὸ κατὰ τὰς πύλας τὰς Ἀμανικὰς καλουμένας ὡς ἐπὶ Ἰσσὸν προῆγε· καὶ ἐγένετο κατόπιν Ἀλεξάνδρου λαθών. Τὴν δὲ Ἰσσὸν κατασχών, ὅσους διὰ νόσον ὑπολελειμμένους αὐτοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων κατέλαβε, τούτους χαλεπῶς αἰκισάμενος ἀπέκτεινεν· ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν προὐχώρει ἐπὶ τὸν
2 ποταμὸν τὸν Πίναρον. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὡς ἤκουσεν ἐν τῷ ὄπισθεν αὐτοῦ ὄντα [τὸν] Δαρεῖον, ἐπεὶ οὐ πιστὸς αὐτῷ ὁ λόγος ἐφαίνετο, ἀναβιβάσας ἐς τριακόντορον τῶν ἑταίρων τινὰς ἀποπέμπει ὀπίσω ἐπὶ Ἰσσόν, κατασκεψομένους εἰ τὰ ὄντα ἐξαγγέλλεται. Οἱ δέ, ἀναπλεύσαντες τῇ τριακοντόρῳ, ὅτι κολπώδης ἦν ἡ ταύτῃ θάλασσα, μᾶλλόν τι εὐπετῶς κατέμαθον αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδεύοντας τοὺς Πέρσας· καὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐν χερσὶν εἶναι Δαρεῖον.

3 Ὁ δὲ συγκαλέσας στρατηγούς τε καὶ ἰλάρχας καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων τοὺς ἡγεμόνας παρεκάλει θαρρεῖν μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἤδη σφίσι καλῶς κεκινδυνευμένων καὶ ὅτι πρὸς νενικημένους ὁ ἀγὼν νενικηκόσιν αὐτοῖς ἔσται καὶ ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ὑπὲρ σφῶν στρατηγεῖ ἄμεινον, ἐπὶ νοῦν Δαρείῳ ἀγαγὼν καθεῖρξαι τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς εὐρυχωρίας ἐς τὰ στενόπορα, ἵνα σφίσι μὲν ξύμμετρον τὸ χωρίον ἀναπτύξαι τὴν φάλαγγα, τοῖς δὲ ἀχρεῖον τὸ πλῆθος ὅτι ἔσται τῇ μάχῃ, οὔτε τὰ σώ-
4 ματα οὔτε τὰς γνώμας παραπλησίοις. Μακεδόνας τε γὰρ Πέρσαις καὶ Μήδοις, ἐκ πάνυ πολλοῦ τρυφῶσιν, αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς πόνοις τοῖς πολεμικοῖς πάλαι ἤδη μετὰ κινδύνων ἀσκουμένους, ἄλλως τε καὶ δούλοις ἀνθρώποις ἐλευθέρους, ἐς

VII. Dareius, then, crossed the height by the Amanian Gates and marched towards Issus; and he slipped in unperceived behind Alexander. Seizing Issus he grievously mutilated and slew all the invalid Macedonians left behind there whom he captured. Next day he advanced to the River Pinarus. Alexander, hearing that Dareius was in his rear, but not crediting the report, embarked some of the territorials in a thirty-oared ship and sent them back to Issus, to verify the report. Those who sailed in this vessel discovered the more easily the Persians encamping there, since the coast takes the form of a bay, and they reported to Alexander that Dareius was at hand.

He, summoning commanders, squadron leaders, and allied officers, bade them be of good cheer in view of dangers successfully surmounted in the past; besides, the coming battle was to be between themselves, already proved victors, and the Persians, already once vanquished; more than that, heaven itself was a better strategist on their own side, having put it into Dareius' mind to hem his force into the narrow pass, leaving to them the open country behind, so that they had a space of just the size for the deployment of their phalanx, while the Persians would have no benefit from their numbers, since their men and their resolution were no match for those of the Greeks. "We Macedonians," he continued, "are to fight Medes and Persians, nations long steeped in luxury, while we have long been hardened by warlike toils and dangers; and above all it will be a fight of free men against slaves.

χεῖρας ἥξειν· ὅσοι τε Ἕλληνες Ἕλλησιν, οὐχ
ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν μαχεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ξὺν
Δαρείῳ ἐπὶ μισθῷ καὶ οὐδὲ τούτῳ πολλῷ κινδυ-
νεύοντας, τοὺς δὲ ξὺν σφίσιν, ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος
5 ἑκόντας ἀμυνομένους. Βαρβάρων τε αὖ Θρᾷκας
καὶ Παίονας καὶ Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Ἀγριᾶνας τοὺς
εὐρωστοτάτους τε τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ
μαχιμωτάτους πρὸς τὰ ἀπονώτατά τε καὶ
μαλακώτατα τῆς Ἀσίας γένη ἀντιτάξεσθαι· ἐπὶ
6 δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀντιστρατηγεῖν Δαρείῳ. Ταῦτα
μὲν οὖν ἐς πλεονεξίαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐπεξῄει·
τὰ δὲ ἆθλα ὅτι μεγάλα ἔσται σφίσι τοῦ
κινδύνου ἐπεδείκνυεν. Οὐ γὰρ τοὺς σατρά-
πας τοὺς Δαρείου ἐν τῷ τότε κρατήσειν, οὐδὲ
τὴν ἵππον τὴν ἐπὶ Γρανικῷ ταχθεῖσαν, οὐδὲ
τοὺς δισμυρίους ξένους τοὺς μισθοφόρους, ἀλλὰ
Περσῶν τε ὅτιπερ ὄφελος καὶ Μήδων καὶ ὅσα
ἄλλα ἔθνη Πέρσαις καὶ Μήδοις ὑπήκοα ἐποικεῖ
τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ αὐτὸν μέγαν βασιλέα παρόντα,
καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν ὑπολειφθήσεταί σφισιν ἐπὶ τῷδε
τῷ ἀγῶνι ὅτι μὴ κρατεῖν τῆς Ἀσίας ξυμπάσης
7 καὶ πέρας τοῖς πολλοῖς πόνοις ἐπιθεῖναι. Ἐπὶ
τούτοις δὲ τῶν τε ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ξὺν λαμπρότητι
ἤδη πεπραγμένων ὑπεμίμνησκε καὶ εἰ δή τῳ ἰδίᾳ
τι διαπρεπὲς ἐς κάλλος τετολμημένον, ὀνομαστὶ
ἕκαστον ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ ἀνακαλῶν. Καὶ τὸ αὑτοῦ
οὐκ ἀκίνδυνον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ὡς ἀνεπαχθέστατα
8 ἐπεξῄει. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ξενοφῶντος καὶ τῶν
ἅμα Ξενοφῶντι μυρίων ἐς μνήμην ἐλθεῖν, ὡς
οὐδέν τι οὔτε κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος οὔτε κατὰ τὴν
ἄλλην ἀξίωσιν σφίσιν ἐπεοικότες, οὐδὲ ἱππέων
αὐτοῖς παρόντων Θεσσαλῶν, οὐδὲ Βοιωτῶν ἢ

And so far as Greek will meet Greek, we shall not be fighting for like causes; those with Dareius will risk their lives for pay, and poor pay too; our troops will fight as volunteers for Greece. As for our foreign troops, Thracians, Paeonians, Illyrians, Agrianes, the stoutest in Europe, and the most warlike, will be ranged against the feeblest and softest hordes of Asia: nay, further, you have an Alexander engaging in a duel of strategy against a Dareius." Thus he drew out their superiority in the coming struggle; he showed that the stakes of their hazard were great too. It was not Dareius' satraps of whom they were to be masters now, nor the cavalry that lined the Granicus, nor the twenty thousand foreign troops, but the flower of Medes and Persians and their subject nations in Asia; the Great King was there himself; nothing remained after this final struggle but to lord it over all Asia and set an end to their many heroic labours. Besides, he reminded them of all they had already achieved with brilliant success for their common cause; any noble individual act of bravery he cited, both the deed and the man; with some delicacy he mentioned his own personal risks in previous battles. He alluded, we are told, to Xenophon and his Ten Thousand, far below themselves in number or in repute, with no cavalry, neither Boeotian nor Pelo-

Πελοποννησίων, οὐδὲ Μακεδόνων ἢ Θρᾳκῶν, οὐδ'
ὅση ἄλλη σφισιν ἵππος ξυντέτακται, οὐδὲ τοξο-
τῶν ἢ σφενδονητῶν, ὅτι μὴ Κρητῶν ἢ Ῥοδίων
ὀλίγων, καὶ τούτων ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ ὑπὸ Ξενοφῶν-
9 τος αὐτοσχεδιασθέντων, οἱ δὲ βασιλέα τε ξὺν
πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει πρὸς Βαβυλῶνι αὐτῇ ἐτρέψαντο
καὶ ἔθνη ὅσα ἄλλα κατιόντων εἰς τὸν Εὔξεινον πόν-
τον καθ' ὁδόν σφισιν ἐπεγένετο νικῶντες ἐπῆλθον·
ὅσα τε ἄλλα ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε πρὸ τῶν κινδύνων ἐς
παράκλησιν ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ ἡγε-
μόνος παραινεῖσθαι εἰκός. Οἱ δὲ ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν
δεξιούμενοί τε τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τῷ λόγῳ ἐπαί-
ροντες ἄγειν ἤδη ἐκέλευον.

VIII. Ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν δειπνοποιεῖσθαι παραγ-
γέλλει· προπέμπει δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας τῶν τε
ἱππέων ὀλίγους καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν προκατασκεψο-
μένους τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ὀπίσω· καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς νυκτὸς
ἀναλαβὼν τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν ᾔει, ὡς κατα-
2 σχεῖν αὖθις τὰς πύλας. Ὡς δὲ ἀμφὶ μέσας
νύκτας ἐκράτησεν αὖθις τῶν παρόδων, ἀνέπαυε[1]
τὴν στρατιὰν τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ
τῶν πετρῶν, προφυλακὰς ἀκριβεῖς καταστησά-
μενος. Ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἕω κατῄει ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν
κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν· καὶ ἕως μὲν πάντῃ στενόπορα ἦν
τὰ χωρία, ἐπὶ κέρως ἦγεν· ὡς δὲ διεχώρει ἐς
πλάτος, ἀνέπτυσσεν ἀεὶ τὸ κέρας ἐς φάλαγγα,
ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην τῶν ὁπλιτῶν τάξιν παράγων,
τῇ μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ
3 τὴν θάλασσαν. Οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς αὐτῷ τέως μὲν
κατόπιν τῶν πεζῶν τεταγμένοι ἦσαν. Ὡς δὲ ἐς
τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν προῄεσαν, συνέτασσεν ἤδη τὴν

[1] ἀνέπαυσε Krüger. See on I. 27, § 7.

ponnesian, neither Macedonian nor Thracian, nor such other horse as they now had; no archers nor slingers, save a few Cretans and Rhodians, and those hastily scraped together by Xenophon when in sore straits. Yet the Ten Thousand turned to flight the Great King himself at the very gates of Babylon, and marched victoriously against the various tribes which barred their way as they descended to the Euxine Sea; of all this he told them, and whatever else, at such a time, in face of dangers, a brave general would by way of encouragement tell brave men. They crowded round and clasped their king's hand, and cheering him to the echo bade him lead on.

VIII. For the moment, however, Alexander bade his troops take their meal, but he sent on towards the Gates a few horsemen and archers to reconnoitre the road that lay behind them; then he himself at nightfall with his whole force marched off to seize the Gates again. When, about midnight, he held the passes once more, he halted his army for the rest of the night on the crags, having carefully set outposts. Just upon dawn he descended from the Gates along the road; and as long as the narrows lasted he led in column; but when it grew broader he deployed his column into phalanx, bringing up battalion after battalion of men-at-arms, on the right, up to the ridge, on the left, to the sea. The cavalry so far had been ranged behind the infantry; but when they got into open ground, at once he

στρατιὰν ὡς ἐς μάχην, πρώτους μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως πρὸς τῷ ὄρει τῶν πεζῶν τό τε ἄγημα καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Νικάνωρ ὁ Παρμενίωνος, ἐχομένην δὲ τούτων τὴν Κοίνου τάξιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τὴν Περδίκκου. Οὗτοι μὲν ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ
4 ἀρξαμένῳ τεταγμένοι ἦσαν. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ εὐωνύμου πρώτη μὲν ἡ Ἀμύντου τάξις ἦν, ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Πτολεμαίου, ἐχομένη δὲ ταύτης ἡ Μελεάγρου. Τοῦ δὲ εὐωνύμου τοῖς πεζοῖς μὲν Κράτερος ἐπετέτακτο ἄρχειν, τοῦ δὲ ξύμπαντος εὐωνύμου Παρμενίων ἡγεῖτο· καὶ παρήγγελτο αὐτῷ μὴ ἀπολείπειν τὴν θάλασσαν, ὡς μὴ κυκλωθείειν ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων, ὅτι πάντη ὑπερφαλαγγήσειν αὐτῶν διὰ πλῆθος ἤμελλον.

5 Δαρεῖος δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἐξηγγέλθη αὐτῷ προσάγων ἤδη Ἀλέξανδρος ὡς ἐς μάχην, τῶν μὲν ἱππέων διαβιβάζει πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Πινάρου ἐς τρισμυρίους μάλιστα τὸν ἀριθμόν, καὶ μετὰ τούτων τῶν ψιλῶν ἐς δισμυρίους, ὅπως τὴν
6 λοιπὴν δύναμιν καθ' ἡσυχίαν συντάξειε. Καὶ πρώτους μὲν τοῦ ὁπλιτικοῦ τοὺς Ἕλληνας τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἔταξεν ἐς τρισμυρίους κατὰ τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν Μακεδόνων· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τῶν Καρδάκων καλουμένων ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν ἐς ἑξακισμυρίους· ὁπλῖται δὲ ἦσαν καὶ οὗτοι. Τοσούτους γὰρ ἐπὶ φάλαγγος ἁπλῆς ἐδέχετο τὸ χωρίον
7 ἵνα ἐτάσσοντο· Ἐπέταξε δὲ καὶ τῷ ὄρει τῷ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ σφῶν κατὰ τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου δεξιὸν ἐς δισμυρίους· καὶ τούτων ἔστιν οἳ κατὰ νώτου ἐγένοντο τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατιᾶς. Τὸ γὰρ ὄρος ἵνα ἐπετάχθησαν πῆ μὲν διεχώρει ἐς βάθος

drew up his army in battle order; first on the right wing towards the mountain ridge, in front, he placed the picked infantry troops and his bodyguard, under Nicanor son of Parmenio, next to them Coenus' battalion, and then that of Perdiccas. These, right to left, stretched to the centre of the men-at-arms. On the left, first came Amyntas' battalion, then Ptolemaeus', and next Meleager's. Craterus was put in command of the infantry on the left, but Parmenio of the entire left wing, under orders not to edge away from the sea, lest the Persians should surround them, since from their great numbers they were likely to overlap the Greeks in extended line.

Dareius for his part, when the approach of Alexander in battle order was reported to him, sent about 30,000 of his cavalry over the River Pinarus and 20,000 light infantry with them, that he might at his leisure deploy the rest. Foremost of his heavier troops he placed the Greek mercenaries, 30,000 of them, facing the Macedonian phalanx; next, on either side, 60,000 of the Kardakes, who were also heavy-armed troops; this was the number which the ground where they stood allowed to be posted in line. He stationed also about 20,000 by the ridge on his left to face Alexander's right; some of these actually got to the rear of Alexander's force, since the mountain ridge where they were posted opened here and there to some depth and

*καὶ κολπῶδές τι αὐτοῦ ὥσπερ ἐν θαλάσσῃ
ἐγίγνετο· ἔπειτα ἐς ἐπικαμπὴν προϊὸν τοὺς ἐπὶ
ταῖς ὑπωρείαις τεταγμένους κατόπιν τοῦ δεξιοῦ
8 κέρως τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐποίει. Τὸ δὲ ἄλλο
πλῆθος αὐτοῦ ψιλῶν τε καὶ ὁπλιτῶν, κατὰ ἔθνη
συντεταγμένον ἐς βάθος οὐκ ὠφέλιμον, ὄπισθεν
ἦν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν μισθοφόρων καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ
φάλαγγος τεταγμένου βαρβαρικοῦ. Ἐλεγετο γὰρ
ἡ πᾶσα ἡ ξὺν Δαρείῳ στρατιὰ μάλιστα ἐς
ἑξήκοντα μυριάδας μαχίμους εἶναι.*

9 *Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ὡς αὐτῷ πρόσω ἰόντι τὸ
χωρίον διέσχεν ὀλίγον ἐς πλάτος, παρήγαγε τοὺς
ἱππέας, τούς τε ἑταίρους καλουμένους καὶ τοὺς
Θεσσαλοὺς καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας.*[1] *Καὶ τούτους
μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρᾳ ἅμα οἷ ἔταξε· τοὺς δὲ ἐκ
Πελοποννήσου καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τὸ συμμαχικὸν ἐπὶ τὸ
εὐώνυμον πέμπει ὡς Παρμενίωνα.*

10 *Δαρεῖος δέ, ὡς συντεταγμενη ἤδη ἦν αὐτῷ ἡ
φάλαγξ, τοὺς ἱππέας οὕστινας πρὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ
ἐπὶ τῷδε προτετάχει ὅπως ἀσφαλῶς αὐτῷ ἡ
ἔκταξις τῆς στρατιᾶς γένοιτο, ἀνεκάλεσεν ἀπὸ
ξυνθήματος. Καὶ τούτων τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς ἐπὶ
τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ κατὰ Παρ-
μενίωνα ἔταξεν, ὅτι ταύτῃ μᾶλλόν τι ἱππάσιμα
ἦν· μέρος δέ τι αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον πρὸς
11 τὰ ὄρη παρήγαγεν. Ὡς δὲ ἀχρεῖοι ἐνταῦθα διὰ
στενότητα τῶν χωρίων ἐφαίνοντο, καὶ τούτων
τοὺς πολλοὺς παριππεῦσαι ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας
σφῶν ἐκέλευσεν. Αὐτὸς δὲ Δαρεῖος τὸ μέσον
τῆς πάσης τάξεως ἐπεῖχε, καθάπερ νόμος τοῖς*

[1] Who were these Μακεδόνες if not ἑταῖροι? Roos suggests Παίονας.

had, in fact, bays like the sea; then trending outwards again it brought those posted on the heights to the rear of Alexander's right wing. The general mass of their light and heavy troops arranged by their territories and to an unserviceable depth was behind the Greek mercenaries and the Persian phalanx. Historians put Dareius' fighting force at some 600,000.

Alexander, however, finding the ground opening somewhat as he went forward, brought on his cavalry and the so-called "Comrades," the Thessalians, and the Macedonians. These all he posted with himself on the right wing; any Peloponnesians and other allies he sent to Parmenio on the left.

Dareius, his phalanx once in due order, recalled by signal such cavalry as he had thrown in front of the river to cover his deployment. Most of these he posted over against Parmenio on the right wing, by the sea, because it was rather better ground for cavalry; part, however, he sent to the left, near the hills. But as they proved useless there from want of space he ordered the greater number of them also to ride round to his right wing. Dareius himself held the centre of his whole host, the regular

Περσῶν βασιλεῦσι τετάχθαι· καὶ τὸν νοῦν τῆς τάξεως ταύτης Ξενοφῶν ὁ τοῦ Γρύλλου ἀναγέγραφεν.

IX. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος κατιδὼν ὀλίγου πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν Περσῶν ἵππον μετακεχωρηκυῖαν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ὡς πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν, αὐτῷ δὲ τοὺς Πελοποννησίους μόνους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τῶν ξυμμάχων ἱππέας ταύτῃ τεταγμένους, πέμπει κατὰ τάχος τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἱππέας ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον, κελεύσας μὴ πρὸ τοῦ μετώπου τῆς πάσης τάξεως παριππεῦσαι, τοῦ μὴ καταφανεῖς τοῖς πολεμίοις γενέσθαι μεταχωροῦντας, ἀλλὰ κατόπιν τῆς φάλαγγος ἀφανῶς
2 διελθεῖν. Προέταξε δὲ τῶν μὲν ἱππέων κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν τοὺς προδρόμους, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Πρωτόμαχος, καὶ τοὺς Παίονας, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Ἀρίστων· τῶν δὲ πεζῶν τοὺς τοξότας, ὧν ἦρχεν Ἀντίοχος· τοὺς δὲ Ἀγριᾶνας, ὧν ἦρχεν Ἄτταλος, καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τινὰς καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ἐς ἐπικαμπὴν πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τὸ κατὰ νώτου ἔταξεν, ὥστε κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν αὐτῷ τὴν φάλαγγα ἐς δύο κέρατα διέχουσαν τετάχθαι, τὸ μὲν ὡς πρὸς Δαρεῖόν τε καὶ τοὺς πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοὺς πάντας Πέρσας, τὸ δὲ ὡς πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρει κατὰ νώτου σφῶν
3 τεταγμένους. Τοῦ δὲ εὐωνύμου προετάχθησαν τῶν μὲν πεζῶν οἵ τε Κρῆτες τοξόται καὶ οἱ Θρᾷκες, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Σιτάλκης· πρὸ τούτων δὲ ἡ ἵππος ἡ κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον. Οἱ δὲ μισθοφόροι ξένοι πᾶσιν ἐπετάχθησαν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὔτε πυκνὴ αὐτῷ ἡ φάλαγξ κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἐφαίνετο, πολύ τε ταύτῃ ὑπερφαλαγγήσειν οἱ Πέρσαι ἐδόκουν, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἐκέλευσε δύο ἴλας τῶν

position for Persian kings; Xenophon son of Gryllus has accurately described the general idea of this arrangement.[1]

IX. Meanwhile Alexander, observing nearly all the Persian cavalry transferred to his left, resting on the sea, while he had only the Peloponnesians and the other allied horse on this side, despatched at full speed the Thessalian cavalry to the left, with orders not to ride in front of the line, so as not to be sighted by the enemy, but to pass quickly at the rear of his phalanx. But he pushed forward the cavalry patrols on his right, under Protomachus, and the Paeonians under Antiochus, the Agrianes under Attalus, some of the cavalry and of the archers, he threw back at an acute angle towards the foothills in his rear, so that on his right wing his line forked into two parts, one facing Dareius and the main body of Persians across the river, the other towards the force posted in his rear in the hills. On the left wing, of the infantry, foremost were the Cretans and Thracians, under Sitalces, with the cavalry of the left wing in advance of these. The foreign mercenaries were distributed among all the troops. But as his line did not seem very solid on his right, and the Persians seemed likely to overlap them considerably there, he ordered from the centre two territorial squadrons and the squadron from

[1] Xen. *Anab.* i. 8. 21.

ἑταίρων, τήν τε Ἀνθεμουσίαν, ἧς ἰλάρχης ἦν Περοίδας ὁ Μενεσθέως, καὶ τὴν Λευγαίαν καλουμένην, ἧς ἡγεῖτο Παντόρδανος ὁ Κλεάνδρου, ἐπὶ
4 τὸ δεξιὸν ἀφανῶς παρελθεῖν. Καὶ τοὺς τοξότας δὲ καὶ μέρος τῶν Ἀγριάνων καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μισθοφόρων ἔστιν οὓς κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν τὸ αὑτοῦ ἐπὶ μετώπου παραγαγὼν ἐξέτεινεν ὑπὲρ τὸ τῶν Περσῶν κέρας τὴν φάλαγγα. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἱ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὄρους τεταγμένοι οὔτε κατῄεσαν, ἐκδρομῆς τε ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τῶν Ἀγριάνων καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ὀλίγων κατὰ πρόσταξιν Ἀλεξάνδρου γενομένης ῥᾳδίως ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπωρείας ἀνασταλέντες ἐς τὸ ἄκρον ἀνέφυγον, ἔγνω καὶ τοῖς κατ' αὐτοὺς τεταγμένοις δυνατὸς ὢν χρήσασθαι ἐς ἀναπλήρωσιν τῆς φάλαγγος, ἐκείνοις δὲ ἱππέας τριακοσίους ἐπιτάξαι ἐξήρκεσεν.

X. Οὕτω δὴ τεταγμένους χρόνον μέν τινα προῆγεν ἀναπαύων, ὥστε καὶ πάνυ ἔδοξε σχολαία γενέσθαι αὐτῷ ἡ πρόσοδος. Τοὺς γὰρ βαρβάρους, ὅπως τὰ πρῶτα ἐτάχθησαν, οὐκέτι ἀντεπῆγε Δαρεῖος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ταῖς ὄχθαις, πολλαχῇ μὲν ἀποκρήμνοις οὔσαις, ἔστι δὲ ὅπου καὶ χάρακα παρατείνας αὐταῖς, ἵνα εὐεφοδώτερα ἐφαίνετο, οὕτως ἔμενεν. Καὶ ταύτῃ εὐθὺς δῆλος ἐγένετο τοῖς ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον τῇ
2 γνώμῃ δεδουλωμένος. Ὡς δὲ ὁμοῦ ἤδη ἦν τὰ στρατόπεδα, ἐνταῦθα παριππεύων πάντῃ Ἀλέξανδρος παρεκάλει ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γίγνεσθαι, οὐ τῶν ἡγεμόνων μόνον τὰ ὀνόματα ξὺν τῷ πρέποντι κόσμῳ ἀνακαλῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰλάρχας καὶ λοχαγοὺς ὀνομαστὶ καὶ τῶν ξένων τῶν μισθοφόρων ὅσοι κατ' ἀξίωσιν ἤ τινα ἀρετὴν γνωριμώτεροι

Anthemus, whose squadron leader was Peroedes son of Menestheus, and that called the Leugaean, under Pantordanus son of Cleander; the word being passed that they were to transfer unobserved to the right wing. The archers and some of the Agrianes and of the Greek mercenaries he led to the front of his right wing and so extended his line to outflank the Persian wing. For since the troops posted in the hills had not descended—nay, on a raid of the Agrianes and a few archers, at Alexander's order, they had been easily dislodged and had fled to the summit—Alexander understood that he could use those who had been posted to hold them in check to deepen his phalanx. To watch the hill troops he reckoned it enough to tell off three hundred horsemen.

X. His forces thus marshalled, Alexander led them on for some time with halts, so that their advance seemed quite a leisurely affair. For Dareius did not yet lead on the Persians, arrayed as at the first, but remained on the river banks, which were in many places precipitous, in some parts building up a stockade, where they appeared more accessible. It was here that Alexander's staff perceived Dareius to be a man of no spirit. But when the two armies were close, Alexander riding along his front bade them be good men and true, calling aloud the names, with all proper distinctions, not only of the commanders, but even squadron leaders and captains, as well as any of the mercenaries who were conspicuous for rank or for any deed of valour. There

ἦσαν· καὶ αὐτῷ πανταχόθεν βοὴ ἐγίνετο μὴ διατρίβειν, ἀλλὰ ἐσβάλλειν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους.
3 Ὁ δὲ ἦγεν ἐν τάξει ἔτι, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα, καίπερ ἐν ἀπόπτῳ ἤδη ἔχων τὴν Δαρείου δύναμιν, βάδην, τοῦ μὴ διασπασθῆναί τι ἐν τῇ ξυντονωτέρᾳ πορείᾳ κυμῆναν τῆς φάλαγγος· ὡς δὲ ἐντὸς βέλους ἐγίγνοντο, πρῶτοι δὴ οἱ κατ' Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ τεταγμένος δρόμῳ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐνέβαλον, ὡς τῇ τε ὀξύτητι τῆς ἐφόδου ἐκπλῆξαι τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ τοῦ θᾶσσον ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντας ὀλίγα πρὸς τῶν τοξοτῶν
4 βλάπτεσθαι. Καὶ ξυνέβη ὅπως εἴκασεν Ἀλέξανδρος· εὐθὺς γὰρ ὡς ἐν χερσὶν ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, τρέπονται τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος οἱ τῷ ἀριστερῷ κέρᾳ ἐπιτεταγμένοι· καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν λαμπρῶς ἐνίκα Ἀλέξανδρός τε καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτόν· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες οἱ μισθοφόροι οἱ ξὺν Δαρείῳ, ᾗ διέσχε τῶν Μακεδόνων ἡ φάλαγξ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ
5 δεξιὸν κέρας παραρραγεῖσα, ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν σπουδῇ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐμβαλὼν καὶ ἐν χερσὶ τὴν μάχην ποιήσας ἐξώθει ἤδη τοὺς ταύτῃ τεταγμένους τῶν Περσῶν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ μέσον τῶν Μακεδόνων οὔτε τῇ ἴσῃ σπουδῇ ἥψαντο τοῦ ἔργου καὶ πολλαχῇ κρημνώδεσι ταῖς ὄχθαις ἐντυγχάνοντες τὸ μέτωπον τῆς φάλαγγος οὐ δυνατοὶ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ τάξει διασώσασθαι, ταύτῃ ἐμβάλλουσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ᾗ μάλιστα διεσπασμένην αὐτοῖς τὴν φάλαγγα
6 κατεῖδον. Καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐνταῦθα καρτερὸν ἦν, τῶν μὲν ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπώσασθαι τοὺς Μακεδόνας καὶ τὴν νίκην τοῖς ἤδη φεύγουσι σφῶν ἀνασώσασθαι· τῶν Μακεδόνων δὲ τῆς τε Ἀλεξάν-

came an answering cry to him from all sides to tarry no longer, but to charge the foe. He continued to lead on in line, at first slowly, though with Dareius' force in full view, desiring that no part of the phalanx should fluctuate in the more rapid advance and so become disparted; but once within range, first Alexander's suite and himself too, in his post on the right wing, took the river at the double, in order to confound the Persians by the swoop of their attack, and by joining in the mellay the sooner to receive the less harm from the Persian archers. All fell out as Alexander had guessed. For the moment the battle joined, the Persian left gave way; and here Alexander and his immediate following scored a triumphant success. But Dareius' Greek mercenaries, where the Macedonian phalanx showed a gap, having broken away to the right wing—for Alexander had flung into the river in hot haste—had come to blows with the Persians and were already driving them back at this point, while the Macedonian centre did not get to work with like enthusiasm, and finding the banks in many places steep could not keep their front unbroken—the Greeks, I say, at this point charged the Macedonians just where they saw the phalanx most agape. There the action was severe, the Greeks tried to push off the Macedonians into the river and to restore victory to their already retreating wing; but the Macedonians,

δρου ἤδη φαινομένης εὐπραγίας μὴ λειφθῆναι καὶ τὴν δόξαν τῆς φάλαγγος, ὡς ἀμάχου δὴ
7 ἐς τὸ τότε διαβεβοημένης, μὴ ἀφανίσαι. Καί τι καὶ τοῖς γένεσι τῷ τε Ἑλληνικῷ καὶ τῷ Μακεδονικῷ φιλοτιμίας ἐνέπεσεν ἐς ἀλλήλους. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα πίπτει Πτολεμαῖός τε ὁ Σελεύκου, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος, καὶ ἄλλοι ἐς εἴκοσι μάλιστα καὶ ἑκατὸν τῶν οὐκ ἠμελημένων Μακεδόνων.

XI. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ αἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως τάξεις, τετραμμένους ἤδη τοὺς κατὰ σφᾶς τῶν Περσῶν ὁρῶντες, ἐπὶ τοὺς ξένους τε τοὺς μισθοφόρους τοὺς Δαρείου καὶ τὸ πονούμενον σφῶν ἐπικάμψαντες, ἀπό τε τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπώσαντο αὐτούς, καὶ κατὰ τὸ παρερρωγὸς τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος ὑπερφαλαγγήσαντες ἐς τὰ πλάγια
2 ἐμβεβληκότες ἤδη ἔκοπτον τοὺς ξένους· καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς δὲ οἱ τῶν Περσῶν κατὰ τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς τεταγμένοι οὐκ ἔμειναν ἐντὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ, ἀλλ' ἐπιδιαβάντες εὐρώστως ἐνέβαλλον εἰς τὰς ἴλας τῶν Θεσσαλῶν· καὶ ταύτῃ ξυνέστη ἱππομαχία καρτερά· οὐδὲ πρόσθεν ἐνέκλιναν οἱ Πέρσαι, πρὶν Δαρεῖόν τε πεφευγότα ᾔσθοντο καὶ πρὶν ἀπορραγῆναι σφῶν τοὺς μισθο-
3 φόρους συγκοπέντας ὑπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος. Τότε δὲ ἤδη λαμπρά τε καὶ ἐκ πάντων ἡ φυγὴ ἐγίγνετο· καὶ οἵ τε τῶν Περσῶν ἵπποι ἐν τῇ ἀναχωρήσει ἐκακοπάθουν, βαρέως ὡπλισμένους τοὺς ἀμβάτας σφῶν φέροντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς, κατὰ στενὰς ὁδοὺς πλήθει τε πολλοὶ καὶ πεφοβημένως σὺν ἀταξίᾳ ἀποχωροῦντες, οὐ μεῖον ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καταπατούμενοι ἢ πρὸς τῆς διώξεως

seeing Alexander's success assured, did not mean to be a whit behind, nor to suffer any eclipse of their prestige and their proud title of "invincible." There arose also a racial rivalry between Greeks and Macedonians. Here it was that Ptolemaeus son of Seleucus fell, a good man and true, and about a hundred and twenty distinguished Macedonians.

XI. Now the battalions on the right wing, seeing the Persians opposed to them already turned back, inclined towards Dareius' mercenaries and their own hard-pressed centre, and drove these from the river, and then overlapping the now broken Persian left, by an oblique move, attacked and were in a trice cutting down the mercenaries. However, the Persian cavalry posted opposite to the Thessalians did not keep their ground on the river bed in the action, but crossed manfully and charged the Thessalian squadrons, and here there was a desperate cavalry fight; the Persians did not give way till they saw Dareius in flight and till their mercenaries were cut off, mowed down by the phalanx. But then the rout was open and universal. The Persian horses suffered much in the retreat, with their riders heavily armed, while the riders too, hurrying by narrow roads in a crowded horde, in terror and in disorder, were as much damaged being ridden

τῶν πολεμίων ἐβλάπτοντο. Καὶ οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ εὐρώστως αὐτοῖς ἐπέκειντο, ὥστε οὐ μεῖον ἢ τῶν[1] πεζῶν φόνος ἐν τῇ φυγῇ τῶν ἱππέων ἐγίγνετο.

4 Δαρεῖος δέ, ὡς αὐτῷ τὸ πρῶτον ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐφοβήθη τὸ κέρας τὸ εὐώνυμον καὶ ταύτῃ ἀπορρηγνύμενον κατεῖδε τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοπέδου, εὐθὺς ὡς εἶχεν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἅρματος ξὺν τοῖς πρώτοις
5 ἔφευγε. Καὶ ἔστε μὲν ὁμαλοῖς χωρίοις ἐν τῇ φυγῇ ἐπετύγχανεν, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἅρματος διεσώζετο· ὡς δὲ φάραγξί τε καὶ ἄλλαις δυσχωρίαις ἐνέκυρσε, τὸ μὲν ἅρμα ἀπολείπει αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸν κάνδυν ἐκδύς· ὁ δὲ καὶ τὸ τόξον ἀπολείπει ἐπὶ τοῦ ἅρματος· αὐτὸς δὲ ἵππου ἐπιβὰς ἔφευγε· καὶ ἡ νὺξ οὐ διὰ μακροῦ ἐπιγενομένη ἀφείλετο
6 αὐτὸν τὸ πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἁλῶναι. Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ ἔστε μὲν φάος ἦν ἀνὰ κράτος ἐδίωκεν· ὡς δὲ συνεσκόταζέ τε ἤδη καὶ τὰ πρὸ ποδῶν ἀφανῆ ἦν, ἐς τὸ ἔμπαλιν ἀπετράπετο ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, τὸ μέντοι ἅρμα τὸ Δαρείου ἔλαβε καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν κάνδυν καὶ τὸ
7 τόξον. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ δίωξις βραδυτέρα αὐτῷ ἐγεγόνει, ὅτι ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ παραρρήξει τῆς φάλαγγος ἐπιστρέψας καὶ αὐτὸς οὐ πρόσθεν ἐς τὸ διώκειν ἐτράπετο, πρὶν τούς τε μισθοφόρους τοὺς ξένους καὶ τὸ τῶν Περσῶν ἱππικὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπωσθέντας κατεῖδε.

8 Τῶν δὲ Περσῶν ἀπέθανον Ἀρσάμης μὲν καὶ Ῥεομίθρης καὶ Ἀτιζύης τῶν ἐπὶ Γρανικῷ ἡγησαμένων τοῦ ἱππικοῦ· ἀποθνήσκει δὲ καὶ Σαβάκης ὁ Αἰγύπτου σατράπης καὶ Βουβάκης τῶν ἐντίμων Περσῶν· τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πλῆθος εἰς δέκα μάλιστα

[1] τῶν for ὡς (A), a conjecture mentioned by Krüger.

over by one another as by their pursuers. The Thessalians stoutly pressed them, and there was as much slaughter in the cavalry as in the infantry flight.

Dareius, for his part, the moment his left wing was panic-stricken by Alexander and he beheld it thus cut off from the rest of his army, fled just as he was in his chariot, and in the van of the fugitives. So long as he found level ground, he found safety in his chariot; but when he met defiles and other difficulties, he left his chariot and threw away his shield and his outer mantle, nay, left even his bow in the chariot, and fled on horseback; night, speedily falling, saved him from becoming Alexander's captive. For Alexander pursued with all his might as long as daylight held; but when it grew dark and he could not see his way, he turned back towards the camp, taking, however, Dareius' chariot, and with it his shield, bow, and mantle. The fact is that his pursuit was the slower, since he had wheeled back at the first breaking through of the phalanx and had not himself turned to pursue till he had seen the mercenaries and the Persian cavalry driven back from the river.

Of the Persians fell Arsames and Rheomithres and Atizyes of the cavalry commanders on the Granicus; Sabakes the satrap of Egypt, and Bubakes, of the Persian nobles; as for the rank and file, some 100,000,

μυριάδας καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἱππεῖς ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους, ὥστε λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου, ξυνεπισπόμενος τότε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, τοὺς μετὰ σφῶν διώκοντας Δαρεῖον, ὡς ἐπὶ φάραγγί τινι ἐν τῇ διώξει ἐγένοντο, ἐπὶ τῶν νεκρῶν διαβῆναι τὴν φάραγγα.
9 Τό τε στρατόπεδον τὸ Δαρείου εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐφόδου ἑάλω καὶ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ ἡ γυνή, αὐτὴ δὲ καὶ ἀδελφὴ Δαρείου, καὶ υἱὸς Δαρείου νήπιος· καὶ θυγατέρες δύο ἑάλωσαν καὶ ἄλλαι ἀμφ' αὐτὰς Περσῶν τῶν ὁμοτίμων γυναῖκες οὐ πολλαί. Οἱ γὰρ ἄλλοι Πέρσαι τὰς γυναῖκας σφῶν ξὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ κατα-
10 σκευῇ ἐς Δαμασκὸν ἔτυχον ἐσταλκότες· ἐπεὶ καὶ Δαρεῖος τῶν τε χρημάτων τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ ἐς πολυτελῆ δίαιταν καὶ στρατευομένῳ ὅμως συνέπεται πεπόμφει ἐς Δαμασκόν, ὥστε ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι οὐ πλείονα ἢ τρισχίλια τάλαντα ἑάλω. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν Δαμασκῷ χρήματα ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἑάλω ὑπὸ Παρμενίωνος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο σταλέντος. Τοῦτο τὸ τέλος τῇ μάχῃ ἐκείνῃ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοις Νικοκράτους μηνὸς Μαιμακτηριῶνος.

XII. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ, καίπερ τετρωμένος τὸν μηρὸν Ἀλέξανδρος ξίφει, ὁ δὲ τοὺς τραυματίας ἐπῆλθε, καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ξυναγαγὼν ἔθαψε μεγαλοπρεπῶς ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει πάσῃ ἐκτεταγμένῃ λαμπρότατα ὡς ἐς πόλεμον· καὶ λόγῳ τε ἐπεκόσμησεν ὅσοις τι διαπρεπὲς ἔργον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἢ αὐτὸς ξυνέγνω εἰργασμένον ἢ ἀκοῇ συμφωνούμενον ἔμαθε· καὶ χρημάτων ἐπιδόσει ὡς ἑκάστους
2 ξὺν τῇ ἀξίᾳ ἐτίμησε. Καὶ Κιλικίας μὲν ἀποδεικνύει σατράπην Βάλακρον τὸν Νικάνορος, ἕνα τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τῶν Βασιλικῶν· ἀντὶ δὲ

among which were over 10,000 cavalry, so that Ptolemaeus son of Lagos, who then was with Alexander, says that the pursuers of Dareius meeting a deep gully in the pursuit crossed it on bodies of the dead. Dareius' camp was stormed and captured, with his mother, wife, who was sister also of Dareius, and his infant son; two daughters also were taken, and in their suite some few noble Persian ladies. For the other Persians had sent their women-folk and baggage to Damascus; Dareius too had sent thither the greater part of his money and all else that goes along with a great king, even on campaign, to meet his extravagant way of living; they found, therefore, in the camp not above three thousand talents. Yet even this wealth at Damascus was captured soon after by Parmenio, who was specially detailed to do so. So ended this battle, fought in the archonship at Athens of Nicocrates and in the month Maimakterion.[1]

XII. Next day, despite a sword wound in his thigh, Alexander went round to see the wounded; and the dead he gathered together and gave them a splendid military funeral, the whole army marshalled in their finest battle array. He praised all who, by his own personal witness, or by the agreed report of others, he knew had done valorous deeds in the battle; these one and all he honoured by a donation suitable to their desert. He appointed as satrap of Cilicia Balacrus son of Nicanor, one of the royal

[1] November 333.

τούτου ἐς τοὺς σωματοφύλακας κατέλεξε Μένητα τὸν Διονυσίου· ἀντὶ δὲ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Σελεύκου τοῦ ἀποθανόντος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ Πολυσπέρχοντα[1] τὸν Σιμμίου ἄρχειν ἀπέδειξε τῆς ἐκείνου τάξεως. Καὶ Σολεῦσι τά τε πεντήκοντα τάλαντα ἃ ἐνδεᾶ ἦν ἐκ τῶν ἐπιβληθέντων σφίσι χρημάτων ἀνῆκε καὶ τοὺς ὁμήρους ἀπέδωκεν.

3 Ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ τῆς μητρὸς τῆς Δαρείου οὐδὲ τῆς γυναικὸς ἢ τῶν παίδων ἠμέλησεν. Ἀλλὰ λέγουσί τινες τῶν τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου γραψάντων, τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτῆς ᾗ ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως τῆς Δαρείου ἐπανῆκεν ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν παρελθόντα αὐτὸν τὴν Δαρείου, ἥτις αὐτῷ ἐξῃρημένη ἦν, ἀκοῦσαι γυναικῶν οἰμωγὴν καὶ ἄλλον τοιοῦτον θόρυβον οὐ
4 πόρρω τῆς σκηνῆς· πυθέσθαι οὖν αἵτινες γυναῖκες καὶ ἀνθ' ὅτου οὕτως ἐγγὺς παρασκηνοῦσι· καί τινα ἐξαγγεῖλαι, ὅτι, Ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἡ μήτηρ τε καὶ ἡ γυνὴ Δαρείου καὶ οἱ παῖδες, ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη αὐταῖς ὅτι τὸ τόξον τε τοῦ Δαρείου ἔχεις καὶ τὸν κάνδυν τὸν βασιλικὸν καὶ ἡ ἀσπὶς ὅτι κεκόμισται ὀπίσω ἡ Δαρείου, ὡς ἐπὶ τεθνεῶτι Δαρείῳ
5 ἀνοιμώζουσι. Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα Ἀλέξανδρον πέμψαι πρὸς αὐτὰς Λεόννατον, ἕνα τῶν ἑταίρων, ἐντειλάμενον φράσαι ὅτι ζῇ Δαρεῖος· τὰ δὲ ὅπλα καὶ τὸν κάνδυν ὅτι φεύγων ἀπέλιπεν ἐπὶ τῷ ἅρματι καὶ ταῦτα ὅτι μόνα ἔχει Ἀλέξανδρος. Καὶ Λεόννατον παρελθόντα ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν τά τε περὶ Δαρείου εἰπεῖν καὶ ὅτι τὴν θεραπείαν αὐταῖς ξυγχωρεῖ Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν βασιλικήν, καὶ τὸν ἄλλον κόσμον καὶ καλεῖσθαι βασιλίσσας, ἐπεὶ

[1] Πολυπέρχων A and inscriptions, despite which -σπ- of B, etc., seems certainly correct. The adj. is πολυσπερχής.

bodyguard; and chose to take his place in the guard Menes, son of Dionysius; and in place of Ptolemaeus son of Seleucus, who had fallen in the fight, he appointed Polysperchon son of Simmias commander of his battalion. To the citizens of Soli he remitted the fifty talents still due from the fine he had imposed, and restored their hostages.

Nor did he neglect Dareius' mother, queen, or children. Some of the biographies of Alexander relate that the night after his return from the pursuit of Dareius he entered Dareius' pavilion, which had been put aside for his own use, and heard a lamentation and other confused sound of women's voices near the pavilion; he enquired what women they were and why they were accommodated so near him; and was told, "Sire, it is Dareius' mother, wife, and children; hearing that you possess his bow and the royal mantle and that his shield has been brought back, they are wailing for him as dead." Alexander thereupon sent Leonnatus to them, one of the Companions, bidding him tell them that Dareius still lived; that he while escaping left his arms and mantle in the chariot, and that Alexander had no more than these. Leonnatus entered the tent and gave Alexander's message about Dareius, adding that Alexander granted them the right of royal state and all other marks of royalty, with the title

οὐ κατὰ ἔχθραν οἱ γενέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς Δαρεῖον, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Ἀσίας
6 διαπεπολεμῆσθαι ἐννόμως. Ταῦτα μὲν Πτολεμαῖος καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος λέγουσι· λόγος δὲ ἔχει καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ παρελθεῖν εἴσω ξὺν Ἡφαιστίωνι μόνῳ τῶν ἑταίρων· καὶ τὴν μητέρα τὴν Δαρείου, ἀμφιγνοήσασαν ὅστις ὁ βασιλεὺς εἴη αὐτοῖν, ἐστάλθαι γὰρ ἄμφω τῷ αὐτῷ κόσμῳ, τὴν δὲ Ἡφαιστίωνι προσελθεῖν καὶ προσκυνῆσαι, ὅτι μείζων [αὐτῇ] ἐφάνη ἐκεῖνος.
7 Ὡς δὲ ὁ Ἡφαιστίων τε ὀπίσω ὑπεχώρησε καί τις τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτήν, τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον δείξας, ἐκεῖνον ἔφη εἶναι Ἀλέξανδρον, τὴν μὲν καταιδεσθεῖσαν τῇ διαμαρτίᾳ ὑποχωρεῖν, Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ οὐ φάναι αὐτὴν ἁμαρτεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον εἶναι
8 Ἀλέξανδρον. Καὶ ταῦτα ἐγὼ οὔθ' ὡς ἀληθῆ οὔτε ὡς πάντη ἄπιστα ἀνέγραψα. Ἀλλ' εἴτε οὕτως ἐπράχθη, ἐπαινῶ Ἀλέξανδρον τῆς τε ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας κατοικτίσεως καὶ τῆς ἐς τὸν ἑταῖρον πίστεως καὶ τιμῆς· εἴτε πιθανὸς δοκεῖ τοῖς ξυγγράψασιν Ἀλέξανδρος ὡς καὶ ταῦτα ἂν πράξας καὶ εἰπών, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἐπαινῶ Ἀλέξανδρον.

XIII. Δαρεῖος δὲ τὴν μὲν νύκτα ξὺν ὀλίγοις τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔφυγε, τῇ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναλαμβάνων ἀεὶ τῶν τε Περσῶν τοὺς διασωθέντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης καὶ τῶν ξένων τῶν μισθοφόρων, ἐς τετρακισχιλίους ἔχων τοὺς πάντας, ὡς ἐπὶ Θάψακόν τε πόλιν καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν σπουδῇ ἤλαυνεν, ὡς τάχιστα μέσον αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν Εὐφράτην ποιῆσαι.

of princesses of the blood, since he had made war with Dareius from no personal enmity but had legitimately fought for the sovereignty of Asia. This is the account of Ptolemaeus and Aristobulus; there is, however, a story that Alexander himself next day visited the tent with Hephaestion alone of his suite; and Dareius' mother, mistaking the king—for both were accoutred alike—approached Hephaestion and prostrated herself before him, for he appeared the taller. Hephaestion, however withdrew, and one of the Queen-mother's attendants pointing to Alexander said that he was the king; whereupon she also withdrew in confusion at her mistake; Alexander remarking that she had made no error, for Hephaestion was also an Alexander.[1] This I have included not as necessarily true nor yet altogether untrustworthy. If it so happened, I have nothing but praise for Alexander for his compassion towards these women, and for his thus trusting and honouring his comrade; if it is the sort of thing that the historians thought Alexander would have said and done, and hence they accept it, I still have nothing but praise for Alexander.

XIII. Dareius meanwhile fled through the night with a handful of his suite; but in the daylight he kept picking up such Persians as had got off safe from the battle and also some of the foreign mercenaries; and with a body of about 4000 in all he rode at full speed to the River Euphrates, meaning to put the river between Alexander and himself as

[1] Presumably Alexander referred to the etymology of his name; a "driver-away of men," or possibly, what would best suit the context, a "protector of mankind." Hephaestion was his *alter ego*.

2 Ἀμύντας δὲ ὁ Ἀντιόχου καὶ Θυμώνδας ὁ Μέντορος καὶ Ἀριστομήδης ὁ Φεραῖος καὶ Βιάνωρ ὁ Ἀκαρνάν, ξύμπαντες οὗτοι αὐτόμολοι, μετὰ τῶν ἀμφ᾽ αὐτοὺς στρατιωτῶν ὡς ὀκτακισχιλίων εὐθὺς ὡς τεταγμένοι ἦσαν κατὰ τὰ ὄρη φεύγοντες ἀφίκοντο ἐς Τρίπολιν τῆς Φοινίκης·
3 καὶ ἐνταῦθα καταλαβόντες τὰς ναῦς νενεωλκημένας ἐφ᾽ ὧν πρόσθεν ἐκ Λέσβου διακεκομισμένοι ἦσαν, τούτων ὅσαι μὲν ἱκαναί σφισιν ἐς τὴν κομιδὴν ἐδόκουν, ταύτας καθελκύσαντες, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς νεωρίοις κατακαύσαντες, ὡς μὴ παρασχεῖν ταχεῖαν σφῶν τὴν δίωξιν, ἐπὶ Κύπρου ἔφυγον καὶ ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ἵναπερ ὀλίγον ὕστερον πολυπραγμονῶν τι Ἀμύντας ἀποθνήσκει ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων.

4 Φαρνάβαζος δὲ καὶ Αὐτοφραδάτης τέως μὲν περὶ τὴν Χίον διετριβον· καταστήσαντες δὲ φρουρὰν τῆς Χίου τὰς μέν τινας τῶν νεῶν ἐς Κῶ καὶ Ἁλικαρνασσὸν ἔστειλαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἑκατὸν ναυσὶ ταῖς ἄριστα πλεούσαις ἀναγόμενοι ἐς Σίφνον κατέσχον. Καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἀφικνεῖται Ἆγις ὁ [τῶν] Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ μιᾶς τριήρους, χρήματά τε αἰτήσων ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ δύναμιν ναυτικήν τε καὶ πεζικὴν ὅσην πλείστην ἀξιώσων συμπέμψαι οἱ ἐς τὴν Πελο-
5 πόννησον. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀγγελία αὐτοῖς ἔρχεται τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς Ἰσσῷ γενομένης. Ἐκπλαγέντες δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἐξαγγελθέντα Φαρνάβαζος μὲν σὺν δώδεκα τριήρεσι καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων ξένων ξὺν χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις ἐπὶ Χίου ἐστάλη, δείσας μή τι πρὸς τὴν ἀγγελίαν τῆς
6 ἥττης οἱ Χῖοι νεωτερίσωσιν, Ἆγις δὲ παρ᾽

soon as might be. Amyntas, however, son of Antiochus and Thymondas son of Mentor and Aristomedes of Pherae and Bianor the Acarnanian, all deserters to Dareius, with their troops to the number of 8000, when posted in battle formation, fled straight to the hills and reached Tripolis in Phoenicia.[1] There they picked up the ships which had been hauled ashore; the same ships which had brought them from Lesbos. They launched as many of these as they thought enough for their convoy; the rest they burnt in the dockyards, to avoid a speedy pursuit, and made for Cyprus and thence to Egypt, where a little later Amyntas, stirring up trouble, was killed by the Egyptians.

Meanwhile Pharnabazus and Autophradates for their part had been waiting at Chios; they had appointed a guard for Chios, and they now sent part of their fleet to Cos and Halicarnassus; they themselves with the hundred swiftest ships put to sea and arrived at Siphnus. Agis king of Sparta met them there with a single trireme to beg for funds for the war and to ask that as many ships and men as possible should be sent to him in the Peloponnese. Just at this moment came the news of the battle of Issus. Utterly dumbfounded at the news, Pharnabazus with twelve triremes and fifteen hundred of the mercenaries made for Chios, fearing lest the Chians, on the news of the defeat, might rebel. Agis, meanwhile, getting thirty silver talents

[1] A city on a spur of Mt. Lebanon.

Αὐτοφραδάτου τάλαντα ἀργυρίου λαβὼν τριάκοντα καὶ τριήρεις δέκα, ταύτας μὲν Ἱππίαν ἄξοντα ἀποστέλλει παρὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀγησίλαον ἐπὶ Ταίναρον· καὶ παραγγέλλειν ἐκέλευσεν Ἀγησιλάῳ, διδόντα τοῖς ναύταις ἐντελῆ τὸν μισθὸν πλεῖν τὴν ταχίστην ἐπὶ Κρήτης, ὡς τὰ ἐκεῖ καταστησόμενον. Αὐτὸς δὲ τότε μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐν ταῖς νήσοις ὑπέμενεν, ὕστερον δὲ εἰς Ἁλικαρνασσὸν παρ' Αὐτοφραδάτην ἀφίκετο.

7 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ σατράπην μὲν Συρίᾳ τῇ κοίλῃ Μένωνα τὸν Κερδίμμα ἐπέταξε, δοὺς αὐτῷ ἐς φυλακὴν τῆς χώρας τοὺς τῶν ξυμμάχων ἱππέας· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Φοινίκης ᾔει. Καὶ ἀπαντᾷ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν Στράτων ὁ Γηροστράτου παῖς τοῦ Ἀραδίων τε καὶ τῶν Ἀράδῳ προσοίκων βασιλέως· ὁ δὲ Γηρόστρατος αὐτὸς μετ' Αὐτοφραδάτου ἔπλει ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἵ τε τῶν Φοινίκων καὶ οἱ τῶν Κυπρίων βασιλεῖς καὶ
8 αὐτοὶ Αὐτοφραδάτῃ ξυνέπλεον. Στράτων δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐντυχὼν στεφανοῖ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ αὐτόν, καὶ τήν τε Ἄραδον αὐτῷ τὴν νῆσον καὶ τὴν Μάραθον τὴν καταντικρὺ τῆς Ἀράδου ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ κειμένην πόλιν, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα, καὶ Σιγῶνα καὶ Μαριάμμην πόλιν καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα τῆς σφῶν ἐπικρατείας ἐνδίδωσιν.

XIV. Ἔτι δὲ ἐν Μαράθῳ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὄντος ἀφίκοντο παρὰ Δαρείου πρέσβεις, ἐπιστολήν τε κομίζοντες Δαρείου καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης δεησόμενοι ἀφεῖναι Δαρείῳ τὴν μητέρα καὶ
2 τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας. Ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ ἐπιστολή, ὅτι Φιλίππῳ τε πρὸς Ἀρταξέρξην φιλία καὶ ξυμμαχία ἐγένετο· καὶ ἐπειδὴ Ἄρσης

from Autophradates and ten triremes, despatched Hippias to take them to his brother Agesilaus at Taenarum. He ordered him to tell Agesilaus to pay the crew in full and sail by the shortest route to Crete, to put all there in order. But Agis remained there for the present among the islands, joining Autophradates later at Halicarnassus.

Alexander appointed as satrap of Lowland Syria Menon son of Kerdimmas, giving him, to garrison the country, the allied cavalry. He himself went towards Phoenicia. On his way Straton son of Gerostratus met him; he was sheik of Aradians and those near Aradus; Gerostratus sailed with Autophradates, and the rest of the princes of Phoenicia and the kings of the Cyprians sailed with him too. But Straton meeting Alexander crowned him with a golden crown, yielding up to him the island of Aradus and Marathus which lay opposite it on the mainland, a great and prosperous city, with Sigon and Mariamne and all else under his sway.

XIV. While Alexander was yet at Marathus, envoys reached him from Dareius, bringing a letter from him, and themselves under orders to beg Alexander to release to Dareius his mother, wife, and children. The letter ran: Philip and Artaxerxes were in peace and alliance; and when Arses son

ὁ υἱὸς Ἀρταξέρξου ἐβασίλευσεν, ὅτι Φίλιππος ἀδικίας πρῶτος ἐς βασιλέα Ἄρσην ἦρξεν οὐδὲν ἄχαρι ἐκ Περσῶν παθών. Ἐξ οὗ δὲ αὐτὸς βασιλεύει Περσῶν, οὔτε πέμψαι τινὰ Ἀλέξανδρον παρ' αὐτὸν ἐς βεβαίωσιν τῆς πάλαι οὔσης φιλίας τε καὶ ξυμμαχίας, διαβῆναί τε ξὺν στρατιᾷ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ πολλὰ κακὰ ἐργάσασ-
3 θαι Πέρσας. Τούτου ἕνεκα καταβῆναι αὐτὸς τῇ χώρᾳ ἀμυνῶν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν πατρῴαν ἀνασώσων. Τὴν μὲν δὴ μάχην ὡς θεῶν τῳ ἔδοξεν, οὕτω κριθῆναι· αὐτὸς δὲ βασιλεὺς παρὰ βασιλέως γυναῖκά τε τὴν αὑτοῦ αἰτεῖν καὶ μητέρα καὶ παῖδας τοὺς ἁλόντας, καὶ φιλίαν ἐθέλειν ποιήσασθαι πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ ξύμμαχος εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων πέμπειν ἠξίου Ἀλέξανδρον παρ' αὐτὸν ξὺν Μενίσκῳ τε καὶ Ἀρσίμᾳ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις τοῖς ἐκ Περσῶν ἥκουσι τοὺς τὰ πιστὰ ληψομένους τε καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου δώσοντας.

4 Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντιγράφει Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ξυμπέμπει τοῖς παρὰ Δαρείου ἐλθοῦσι Θέρσιππον, παραγγείλας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν δοῦναι Δαρείῳ, αὐτὸν δὲ μὴ διαλέγεσθαι ὑπὲρ μηδενός. Ἡ δὲ ἐπιστολὴ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὧδε ἔχει. "Οἱ ὑμέτεροι πρόγονοι ἐλθόντες εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα κακῶς ἐποίησαν ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν προηδικημένοι· ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμὼν κατασταθεὶς καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι βουλόμενος Πέρσας διέβην ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὑπαρξάντων ὑμῶν.
5 Καὶ γὰρ Περινθίοις ἐβοηθήσατε, οἳ τὸν ἐμὸν πατέρα ἠδίκουν, καὶ εἰς Θρᾴκην, ἧς ἡμεῖς ἤρχομεν, δύναμιν ἔπεμψεν Ὦχος. Τοῦ δὲ πατρὸς

of Artaxerxes became king, Philip took the first wrong step towards King Arses, having suffered no ungracious treatment at his hands. But since Dareius had been King of Persia, Alexander had sent no envoy to him to confirm this ancient friendship and alliance, but had actually crossed in full force into Asia and had done much harm to the Persians. Dareius therefore had come down to defend his country and to save his ancestral sovereignty. The battle had gone as some god had willed it; but he, a king, begged from a king his captive mother, wife, and children; and was ready to make friendship and an alliance with Alexander; and for these things he begged Alexander to send to him along with Meniscus and Arsimes, the envoys from Persia, duly authorised persons to receive sureties from him, and to give him sureties from Alexander.

Alexander replied to this, sending with Dareius' envoys Thersippus, bidding him deliver the letter to Dareius, but to discuss no point with him. This is how Alexander's letter runs: "Your ancestors invaded Macedonia and the rest of Greece and did us much harm, though we had done none to them; I have been duly appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Greeks, and invaded Asia desiring to take vengeance on Persia; but it was you who began the mischief. You assisted Perinthus, which wronged my father; and Ochus sent a force into Thrace, which is under our sovereignty. My father was

ἀποθανόντος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων, οὓς ὑμεῖς συνετάξατε, ὡς αὐτοὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς πρὸς ἅπαντας ἐκομπάσατε, καὶ Ἄρσην ἀποκτείναντός σου μετὰ Βαγώου, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχόντος οὐ δικαίως οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸν Περσῶν νόμον, ἀλλὰ ἀδικοῦντος Πέρσας, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας γράμματα οὐκ ἐπιτήδεια διαπέμποντος,
6 ὅπως πρός με πολεμῶσι, καὶ χρήματα ἀποστέλλοντος πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων πόλεων οὐδεμιᾶς δεχομένης, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ λαβόντων, καὶ τῶν παρὰ σοῦ πεμφθέντων τοὺς ἐμοὺς φίλους διαφθειράντων καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἣν τοῖς Ἕλλησι κατεσκεύασα διαλύειν ἐπιχειρούντων, ἐστράτευσα
7 ἐπὶ σέ, ὑπάρξαντος σοῦ τῆς ἔχθρας. Ἐπεὶ δὲ μάχῃ νενίκηκα πρότερον μὲν τοὺς σοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ σατράπας, νῦν δὲ καὶ σὲ καὶ τὴν μετὰ σοῦ δύναμιν, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἔχω, τῶν θεῶν μοι δόντων. Ὅσοι τῶν μετὰ σοῦ παραταξαμένων μὴ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀπέθανον, ἀλλὰ παρ' ἐμὲ κατέφυγον, τούτων ἐπιμέλομαι καὶ οὐκ ἄκοντες παρ' ἐμοί εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἑκόντες ξυστρατεύονται
8 μετ' ἐμοῦ. Ὡς οὖν ἐμοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας ἁπάσης κυρίου ὄντος ἧκε πρὸς ἐμέ. Εἰ δὲ φοβῇ μὴ ἐλθὼν πάθῃς τι ἐξ ἐμοῦ ἄχαρι, πέμπε τινὰς τῶν φίλων τὰ πιστὰ ληψομένους. Ἐλθὼν δὲ πρός με τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ εἰ ἄλλο τι ἐθέλεις αἴτει καὶ λάμβανε. Ὅ τι γὰρ ἂν πείθῃς
9 ἐμὲ ἔσται σοι. Καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ ὅταν πέμπῃς παρ' ἐμέ, ὡς πρὸς βασιλέα τῆς Ἀσίας πέμπε, μηδὲ ἃ ἐξ ἴσου ἐπίστελλε, ἀλλ' ὡς κυρίῳ ὄντι πάντων

murdered by conspirators, whom you instructed, as you yourselves boasted in your letters, before all the world; you assassinated Arses with the help of Bagoas,[1] and seized the throne unjustly and, according to Persian law, illegally, doing grievous wrong to Persians; you sent improper letters to the Greeks about me, urging them to declare war upon me. You despatched sums of money to the Lacedaemonians and certain other Greeks, and when no other city received these, save the Lacedaemonians, and when your envoys corrupted my friends and sought to destroy the peace I had made in Greece, I took up arms against you; but it was you who started the quarrel. And whereas I conquered in battle first your generals and satraps, and now yourself and your own force, and hold the country—by the gift of heaven—I hold myself responsible for all of your troops who did not die in the field but took refuge with me; indeed they are with me of their own free will and of their will serve in my army. Regard me then as Lord of all Asia and come to me. If you fear lest by coming you may receive some ungracious treatment at my hands, send some of your friends to receive proper pledges. When you come to me, request and receive your mother, wife, and children, and what you will. You shall have whatsoever you persuade me to give. And in future when you send, send to me as Supreme Lord of Asia, and do not direct what you require as on equal terms, but tell me, as lord of all your possessions,

[1] Alexander seems inaccurate. Bagoas apparently murdered Arses independently and then placed Dareius on the throne, later attempting to poison him, but was "hoist with his own petard," being compelled to drink the poison himself.

τῶν σῶν φράζε εἴ του δέῃ· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐγὼ βουλεύσομαι περὶ σοῦ ὡς ἀδικοῦντος. Εἰ δ' ἀντιλέγεις περὶ τῆς βασιλείας, ὑπομείνας ἔτι ἀγώνισαι περὶ αὐτῆς καὶ μὴ φεῦγε, ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπὶ σὲ πορεύσομαι οὗ ἂν ᾖς."

XV. Πρὸς μὲν Δαρεῖον ταῦτα ἐπέστειλεν. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἔμαθε τά τε χρήματα ὅσα σὺν Κωφῆνι τῷ Ἀρταβάζου ἀποπεπόμφει εἰς Δαμασκὸν Δαρεῖος ὅτι ἑάλωκε, καὶ ὅσοι Περσῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὰ ἐγκατελείφθησαν ξὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ βασιλικῇ κατασκευῇ ὅτι καὶ οὗτοι ἑάλωσαν, ταῦτα μὲν ὀπίσω κομίσαντα ἐς Δαμασκὸν Παρμενίωνα φυλάσσειν
2 ἐκέλευε. Τοὺς δὲ πρέσβεις τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἳ πρὸς Δαρεῖον πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἀφιγμένοι ἦσαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τούτους ἑαλωκέναι ἔμαθε, παρ' αὐτὸν πέμπειν ἐκέλευσεν. Ἦσαν δὲ Εὐθυκλῆς μὲν Σπαρτιάτης, Θεσσαλίσκος δὲ Ἰσμηνίου καὶ Διονυσόδωρος Ὀλυμπιονίκης, Θηβαῖοι, Ἰφικράτης δὲ ὁ Ἰφικράτους τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, Ἀθη-
3 ναῖος. Καὶ οὗτοι ὡς ἧκον παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον, Θεσσαλίσκον μὲν καὶ Διονυσόδωρον, καίπερ Θηβαίους ὄντας, εὐθὺς ἀφῆκε, τὸ μέν τι κατοικτίσει τῶν Θηβῶν, τὸ δὲ ὅτι ξυγγνωστὰ δεδρακέναι ἐφαίνοντο, ἠνδραποδισμένης ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων τῆς πατρίδος σφίσι τε ἥντινα ἠδύναντο ὠφέλειαν εὑρισκόμενοι καὶ εἰ δή τινα καὶ τῇ πατρίδι ἐκ
4 Περσῶν καὶ Δαρείου, ταῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ ἀμφοῖν ἐπιεικῆ ἐνθυμηθείς, ἰδίᾳ δὲ Θεσσαλίσκον μὲν αἰδοῖ τοῦ γένους ἀφιέναι εἶπεν, ὅτι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν Θηβαίων ἦν, Διονυσόδωρον δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τῶν Ὀλυμπίων. Ἰφικράτην δὲ φιλίᾳ τε τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως καὶ μνήμῃ τῆς δόξης τοῦ

if you have need of aught; otherwise I shall take steps concerning you as a misdemeanant. If you claim your kingdom, stand your ground and fight for it and flee not, since I will pursue you whithersoever you go."

XV. This was Alexander's letter to Dareius. As soon as he learned that the moneys which Dareius had sent with Cophen son of Artabazus to Damascus had been seized, and that all the Persians left to guard them with the rest of the royal equipage had been seized also, he bade Parmenio take the spoil back to Damascus and guard it there. But as for the Greek envoys who had reached Dareius before the battle, when he learned that these also were captured, he ordered them to be sent to him. They were Euthycles the Spartiate, Thessaliscus son of Ismenius, and Dionysidorus, Olympian victor, of Thebes; and Iphicrates son of Iphicrates the general, of Athens. When these envoys reached Alexander, he at once dismissed Thessaliscus and Dionysidorus, Thebans though they were, partly from compassion for Thebes and partly because it seemed that they had acted pardonably, since their city had been enslaved by Macedonians, and they were looking for what help they could get for themselves and for their country too from Dareius and Persia; Alexander therefore took a kindly view of the doings of both; but privately he said that he released Thessaliscus from regard for his family—since he was one of the Theban nobles—and Dionysidorus because of his athletic victory at Olympia. Iphicrates, from friendship for Athens and remembrance of his father's

πατρὸς ζῶντά τε ἀμφ' αὑτὸν ἔχων ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐτίμησε καὶ νόσῳ τελευτήσαντος τὰ ὀστᾶ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας τοῖς πρὸς γένους ἀπέπεμψεν.
5 Εὐθυκλέα δέ, Λακεδαιμόνιόν τε ὄντα, πόλεως περιφανῶς ἐχθρᾶς ἐν τῷ τότε, καὶ αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἰδίᾳ εὑρισκόμενον ἐς ξυγγνώμην ὅ τι [γε] καὶ λόγου ἄξιον, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐν φυλακῇ ἀδέσμῳ εἶχεν· ὕστερον δὲ ἐπεὶ μεγάλα εὐτύχει, καὶ τοῦτον ἀφῆκεν.

6 Ἐκ Μαράθου δὲ ὁρμηθεὶς Βύβλον τε λαμβάνει ὁμολογίᾳ ἐνδοθεῖσαν, καὶ Σιδῶνα, αὐτῶν Σιδωνίων ἐπικαλεσαμένων κατὰ ἔχθος τὸ Περσῶν καὶ Δαρείου. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ προὐχώρει ὡς ἐπὶ Τύρον· καὶ ἐντυγχάνουσιν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν πρέσβεις Τυρίων ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐσταλμένοι ὡς ἐγνωκότων Τυρίων πράσσειν ὅ τι ἂν ἐπαγγέλλῃ
7 Ἀλέξανδρος. Ὁ δὲ τήν τε πόλιν ἐπαινέσας καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις (καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐν Τύρῳ οἵ τε ἄλλοι καὶ ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Τυρίων παῖς· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀζέμιλκος μετ' Αὐτοφραδάτου ἔπλει), ἐκέλευσεν ἐπανελθόντας φράσαι Τυρίοις ὅτι ἐθέλοι παρελθὼν ἐς τὴν πόλιν θῦσαι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ.

XVI. Ἔστι γὰρ ἐν Τύρῳ ἱερὸν Ἡρακλέους παλαιότατον ὧν μνήμη ἀνθρωπίνη διασώζεται, οὐ τοῦ Ἀργείου Ἡρακλέους τοῦ τῆς Ἀλκμήνης· πολλαῖς γὰρ γενεαῖς πρότερον τιμᾶται ἐν Τύρῳ Ἡρακλῆς, ἢ Κάδμον ἐκ Φοινίκης ὁρμηθέντα Θήβας κατασχεῖν καὶ τὴν παῖδα Κάδμῳ τὴν Σεμέλην γενέσθαι, ἐξ ἧς καὶ ὁ τοῦ Διὸς Διόνυσος
2 γίγνεται. Διόνυσος μὲν δὴ τρίτος ἂν ἀπὸ Κάδμου εἴη, κατὰ Λάβδακον τὸν Πολυδώρου τοῦ Κάδμου

fame, he retained about his person with especial honour; when at last Iphicrates died he sent his bones to his relatives at Athens. Euthycles, however, as a Lacedaemonian, citizen of a city of bitter hostility to him at the moment, and unable to produce any reasonable claim to pardon, at first he kept under open arrest; but later, when successes crowded in upon him, he released him also.

Alexander marched from Marathus and received the surrender of Byblus, Sidon also, invited by the Sidonians themselves, who loathed Persia and Dareius. Thence he proceeded towards Tyre, and on the way Tyrian envoys met him, sent by the community to say that Tyre had decided to accept Alexander's orders. He commended both the city and its envoys—for they were not only Tyrian nobles but numbered among them the son of their king, who himself was at sea with Autophradates' fleet—and bade them return and tell the Tyrians that he proposed to come to Tyre and sacrifice to Heracles.

XVI. There is, you must know, at Tyre the most ancient temple of Heracles[1] of which there is any record; not the Argive Heracles, son of Alcmena; for Heracles was honoured at Tyre many generations before Cadmus sailed from Phoenicia, occupied Thebes, and had a daughter Semele, mother of Dionysus son of Zeus. For Dionysus would appear to be in the third generation from Cadmus, in the line of Labdacus son of Polydorus, son of Cadmus;

[1] Known as Melcarth.

παῖδα· Ἡρακλῆς δὲ ὁ Ἀργεῖος κατ' Οἰδίποδα μάλιστα τὸν Λαΐου. Σέβουσι δὲ καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἄλλον Ἡρακλέα, οὐχ ὅνπερ Τύριοι ἢ Ἕλληνες.
3 Ἀλλὰ λέγει Ἡρόδοτος ὅτι τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν Ἡρακλέα ἄγουσιν Αἰγύπτιοι, καθάπερ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Διόνυσον τὸν Διὸς καὶ Κόρης σέβουσιν, ἄλλον τοῦτον Διόνυσον· καὶ ὁ Ἴακχος ὁ μυστικὸς τούτῳ τῷ Διονύσῳ, οὐχὶ τῷ Θηβαίῳ, ἐπᾴ-
4 δεται. Ὡς τόν γε ἐν Ταρτησσῷ πρὸς Ἰβήρων τιμώμενον Ἡρακλέα, ἵνα καὶ στῆλαί τινες Ἡρακλέους ὠνομασμέναι εἰσί, δοκῶ ἐγὼ τὸν Τύριον εἶναι Ἡρακλέα, ὅτι Φοινίκων κτίσμα ἡ Ταρτησσὸς καὶ τῷ Φοινίκων νόμῳ ὅ τε νεὼς πεποίηται τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ ἐκεῖ καὶ αἱ θυσίαι
5 θύονται. Γηρυόνην δέ, ἐφ' ὅντινα ὁ Ἀργεῖος Ἡρακλῆς ἐστάλη πρὸς Εὐρυσθέως τὰς βοῦς ἀπελάσαι τὰς Γηρυόνου καὶ ἀγαγεῖν ἐς Μυκήνας, οὐδέν τι προσήκειν τῇ γῇ τῶν Ἰβήρων Ἑκαταῖος ὁ λογοποιὸς λέγει· οὐδὲ ἐπὶ νῆσόν τινα Ἐρύθειαν ἔξω τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης σταλῆναι Ἡρακλέα, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἠπείρου τῆς περὶ Ἀμβρακίαν τε καὶ Ἀμφιλόχους βασιλέα γενέσθαι Γηρυόνην καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου ταύτης ἀπελάσαι Ἡρακλέα τὰς βόας, οὐδὲ τοῦτον φαῦλον ἆθλον τιθέμενον.
6 Οἶδα δὲ ἐγὼ καὶ εἰς τοῦτο ἔτι εὔβοτον τὴν ἤπειρον ταύτην καὶ βοῦς τρέφουσαν καλλίστας· καὶ ἐς Εὐρυσθέα τῶν μὲν ἐξ Ἠπείρου βοῶν κλέος ἀφῖχθαι καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Ἠπείρου τὸ ὄνομα τὸν Γηρυόνην οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ εἰκότος τίθεμαι· τῶν δὲ ἐσχάτων τῆς Εὐρώπης Ἰβήρων οὔτ' ἂν τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ ὄνομα γιγνώσκειν Εὐρυσθέα, οὔτε εἰ βοῦς καλαὶ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ

while the Argive Heracles was probably in the line of Oedipus son of Laius. The Egyptians worship another Heracles, different from the Heracles of Tyre and Greece; Herodotus says that the Egyptians reckon him one of the Twelve Deities, just as the Athenians worship a different Dionysus, son of Zeus and Kore. It is to him—not the Theban Dionysus—that the mystic chant "Iacchus" is sung. So also I think that the Heracles honoured at Tartessus by the Iberians—where are the "Pillars" called "of Heracles"—is the Tyrian Heracles, since Tartessus is a Phoenician possession, and the temple to the Heracles there has been built in the Phoenician style and the sacrifices are offered in Phoenician ritual. Geryones, moreover, to whom the Argive Heracles was sent by Eurystheus, to raid the oxen of Geryones and bring them to Mycenae, has no connection with Iberia—at least so Hecataeus the Chronicler says; nor, according to him, was Heracles sent to some island, Erytheia, beyond the Great Sea; but rather that Geryones was king of the mainland round Ambracia and Amphilochi, and that from the mainland here Heracles drove off the oxen; and that was in itself achievement enough. What I do know is that even now this part of the mainland is capital pasture and rears excellent oxen; and I reckon it quite likely that Eurystheus got wind of the fame of these mainland oxen and of the name of the king, Geryones; but I feel sure that Eurystheus would have no knowledge of the name of the king of the Iberians, right at the ends of Europe, nor whether there were fine cattle or not in those

νέμονται, εἰ μή τις τὴν Ἥραν τούτοις ἐπάγων, ὡς
αὐτὴν ταῦτα Ἡρακλεῖ δι' Εὐρυσθέως ἐπαγγέλ-
λουσαν, τὸ οὐ πιστὸν τοῦ λόγου ἀποκρύπτειν
ἐθέλοι τῷ μύθῳ.

7 Τούτῳ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ Τυρίῳ ἔφη ἐθέλειν
θῦσαι Ἀλέξανδρος. Ὡς δὲ ἀπηγγέλθη ταῦτα
πρὸς τῶν πρέσβεων εἰς τὴν Τύρον, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα
ἔδοξέ σφισι ποιεῖν ὅ τι περ ἐπαγγέλλει Ἀλέξαν-
δρος, ἐς δὲ τὴν πόλιν μήτε τινὰ Περσῶν μήτε
Μακεδόνων δέχεσθαι, ὡς τοῦτο ἔς τε τὰ παρόντα
τῷ λόγῳ εὐπρεπέστατον καὶ ἐς τοῦ πολέμου
τὴν κρίσιν, ἄδηλον ἔτι οὖσαν, ἀσφαλέστατόν
8 σφισι γενησόμενον. Ὡς δὲ ἐξηγγέλθη Ἀλε-
ξάνδρῳ τὰ ἐκ τῆς Τύρου, τοὺς μὲν πρέσβεις
πρὸς ὀργὴν ὀπίσω ἀπέπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ συνα-
γαγὼν τούς τε ἑταίρους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας
τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ ταξιάρχας καὶ ἰλάρχας ἔλεξεν
ὧδε.

XVII. "Ἄνδρες φίλοι καὶ ξύμμαχοι, ἡμῖν
οὔτε τὴν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου πορείαν ἀσφαλῆ ὁρῶ,
θαλασσοκρατούντων Περσῶν, Δαρεῖόν τε διώκειν
ὑπολιπομένους[1] αὐτήν τε ὀπίσω τὴν τῶν Τυρίων
πόλιν ἀμφίβολον καὶ Αἴγυπτον καὶ Κύπρον
ἐχομένας πρὸς Περσῶν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀσφαλὲς ἔς
τε τὰ ἄλλα καὶ μάλιστα δὴ ἐς τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ
2 πράγματα, μήποτ' ἄρα ἐπικρατήσαντες αὖθις
τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ χωρίων οἱ Πέρσαι, προχωρη-
σάντων ἡμῶν ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει ὡς ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνά
τε καὶ Δαρεῖον, αὐτοὶ ξὺν πλείονι στόλῳ μετα-
γάγοιεν τὸν πόλεμον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, Λακεδαι-

[1] ὑπολειπ. Sintenis; and A so reads. Here, however, the aorist is clearly more precise.

parts, unless anyone cares to bring in Hera, as passing on the news of them to Heracles through Eurystheus, and thus veil by the myth the general unlikeliness of the tale.

It was to this Tyrian Heracles that Alexander said he wished to sacrifice. When this was announced at Tyre by the envoys, the Tyrians were prepared to obey all Alexander's other behests, but would have no Persian nor Macedonian within their city, for this resolve they felt to be most honourable for the present and safest for the future, looking at the yet uncertain issue of the war. When Alexander received this answer he angrily sent back the envoys, but assembling the Companions and the commanders of the army, with battalion and squadron commanders, he made the following speech.

XVII. "My friends and allies, so long as Persia is supreme at sea I cannot see how we can march in safety to Egypt. Nor, again, is it safe to pursue Dareius, leaving in our rear the city of Tyre, of doubtful allegiance, and Egypt and Cyprus still in Persia's hands, especially in view of the state of Greek affairs. There is a fear lest the Persians, again seizing the coast places, when we have gone in full force toward Babylon and Dareius, should with a larger army transfer the war into Greece,

μονίων μὲν ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος ἡμῖν πολεμούντων, τῆς δὲ Ἀθηναίων πόλεως φόβῳ μᾶλλόν τι ἢ εὐνοίᾳ τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὸ παρὸν κατεχομένης.
3 Ἐξαιρεθείσης δὲ Τύρου ἥ τε Φοινίκη ἔχοιτο ἂν πᾶσα καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ὅπερ πλεῖστόν τε καὶ κράτιστον τοῦ Περσικοῦ, τὸ Φοινίκων, παρ' ἡμᾶς μεταχωρήσειν εἰκός· οὐ γὰρ ἀνέξονται οὔτε οἱ ἐρέται οὔτε οἱ ἐπιβάται Φοίνικες, ἐχομένων σφίσι τῶν πόλεων, αὐτοὶ ὑπὲρ ἄλλων πλέοντες κινδυνεύειν· Κύπρος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἢ οὐ χαλεπῶς ἡμῖν προσχωρήσει ἢ ἐξ ἐπίπλου εὐμαρῶς ληφθήσεται.
4 Καὶ ταῖς τε ἐκ Μακεδονίας ναυσὶ καὶ ταῖς Φοινίσσαις πλεόντων ἡμῶν τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ Κύπρου ἅμα προσγενομένης, θαλασσοκρατοῖμέν τε ἂν βεβαίως καὶ ὁ ἐς Αἴγυπτον στόλος εὐμαρῶς ἡμῖν ἐν ταὐτῷ γίγνεται. Αἴγυπτον δὲ παραστησαμένοις ὑπέρ τε τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῆς οἰκείας οὐδὲν ἔτι ὕποπτον ὑπολείπεται, τόν τε ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος στόλον μετὰ τοῦ ἐς τὰ οἴκοι ἀσφαλοῦς καὶ ξὺν μείζονι ἅμα ἀξιώσει ποιησόμεθα, ἀποτετμημένοι τήν τε θάλασσαν Περσῶν ξύμπασαν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Εὐφράτου γῆν."

XVIII. Ταῦτα λέγων οὐ χαλεπῶς ἔπειθεν ἐπιχειρεῖν τῇ Τύρῳ· ἀλλὰ καί τι θεῖον ἀνέπειθεν αὐτόν, ὅτι ἐνύπνιον αὐτῆς ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐδόκει αὐτὸς μὲν τῷ τείχει προσάγειν τῶν Τυρίων· τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέα δεξιοῦσθαί τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνάγειν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. Καὶ τοῦτο ἐξηγεῖτο Ἀρίστανδρος ὡς ξὺν πόνῳ ἁλωσομένην τὴν Τύρον, ὅτι καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἔργα ξὺν πόνῳ
2 ἐγένετο. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ μέγα ἔργον τῆς Τύρου ἡ πολιορκία ἐφαίνετο. Νῆσός τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ

where the Lacedaemonians are at the moment fighting us; and Athens is kept in its place for the present by fear rather than goodwill towards us. But with Tyre once destroyed, Phoenicia could all be held, and the best and strongest part of the Persian navy, the Phoenician element, would most probably come over to us. For neither the rowers nor the marines of Phoenicia will have the courage, if their cities are in our hands, to sail the sea and run its dangers for the sake of others. After this Cyprus, moreover, will either come readily to our side or be captured easily by a naval raid. Then if we hold the sea with our Macedonian ships, and the Phoenician navy too, and with Cyprus ours, we should firmly hold the sea-power, and in virtue thereof our expedition to Egypt would be easy. Then, when we have possession of Egypt, we shall have no cause for uneasiness for Greece and our own home, and we shall make the expedition to Babylon, with security at home, and with our enhanced prestige, with the whole sea cut off from Persia and all the country this side of Euphrates."

XVIII. With words like these Alexander easily won over his staff to the attack on Tyre, and he had an omen to help him, for in a dream that night he found himself approaching the wall of Tyre, and there was Heracles, stretching out to him his right hand, and conducting him into the city. Aristandros interpreted the dream thus: Tyre would be taken, but with much toil, for toil was the mark of Heracles' achievements. The plain fact is that anyone could see that the siege of Tyre would be a big business. The city was an island, and strengthened all round

πόλις ἦν καὶ τείχεσιν ὑψηλοῖς πάντῃ ὠχύρωτο· καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πρὸς τῶν Τυρίων μᾶλλόν τι ἐν τῷ τότε ἐφαίνετο, τῶν τε Περσῶν ἔτι θαλασσοκρατούντων καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς Τυρίοις νεῶν ἔτι πολλῶν περιουσῶν.

3 Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ὅμως ἐκράτησε, χῶμα ἔγνω χωννύναι ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν. Ἔστι δὲ πορθμὸς τεναγώδης τὸ χωρίον· καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τῇ ἠπείρῳ τῆς θαλάσσης βραχέα καὶ πηλώδη αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει, ἵνα τὸ βαθύτατον τοῦ διάπλου, τριῶν μάλιστα ὀργυιῶν τὸ βάθος. Ἀλλὰ λίθων τε πολλῶν ἀφθονία ἦν καὶ ὕλης, ἥντινα τοῖς λίθοις ἄνωθεν ἐπεφόρουν· χάρακές τε οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐν τῷ πηλῷ κατεπήγνυντο καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ πηλὸς ξύνδεσμος τοῖς
4 λίθοις ἐς τὸ ἐπιμένειν ἐγίγνετο. Καὶ προθυμία τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐς τὸ ἔργον καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου πολλὴ ἦν, παρόντος τε καὶ αὐτοῦ ἕκαστα ἐξηγουμένου καὶ τὰ μὲν λόγῳ ἐπαίροντος, τὰ δὲ καὶ χρήμασι τούς τι ἐκπρεπέστερον κατ᾽ ἀρετὴν πονουμένους ἐπικουφίζοντος. Ἀλλ᾽ ἔστε μὲν τὸ πρὸς τῇ ἠπείρῳ ἐχώννυτο, οὐ χαλεπῶς προὐχώρει τὸ ἔργον, ἐπὶ βάθος τε ὀλίγον χωννύμενον καὶ
5 οὐδενὸς ἐξείργοντος. Ὡς δὲ τῷ βαθυτέρῳ ἤδη ἐπέλαζον καὶ ἅμα τῇ πόλει αὐτῇ ἐγγὺς ἐγίγνοντο, ἀπό τε τῶν τειχῶν, ὑψηλῶν ὄντων, βαλλόμενοι ἐκακοπάθουν, ἅτε καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἐργασίᾳ μᾶλλόν τι ἢ ὡς ἐς μάχην ἀκριβῶς ἐσταλμένοι, καὶ ταῖς τριήρεσιν ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ τοῦ χώματος ἐπιπλέοντες οἱ Τύριοι, ἅτε δὴ θαλασσοκρατοῦντες ἔτι, ἄπορον πολλαχῇ τὴν πρόσχωσιν τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐποίουν.
6 Καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες πύργους ἐπάνω τοῦ χώματος,

with high walls; moreover, any movements from the seaward side were in Tyre's favour, as the Persians were still supreme at sea and the Tyrians had plenty of ships left.

But Alexander's arguments, none the less, winning the day, he decided to build a mole from the mainland to the city. At this part is a shallow strait; towards the mainland are shallows and patches of mud; but next the city where is the deepest part of the crossing is a depth of about three fathoms. But there was plenty of stones and wood, which they heaped above the stones; then it was easy to fix stakes in the mud, and the mud itself made a good and safe binding for the stones. The Macedonians were eager for the work, and Alexander too; he was himself present, explained each step, and encouraged the workers, besides rewarding with a gift those who did any specially good work. As long as the building of the mole was near the mainland, the work went on without difficulty; for the depth was not great for the structure, and no one hindered. But when they got into deeper water and also nearer the city, they were in great distress by reason of volleys from the high walls; since the workers were clad rather for work than for warfare; and the Tyrians sailing up in their triremes on this side and on that, being still masters of the sea, made in many places the building up of the mole impossible for the Macedonians. On this the Macedonians built two towers above the mole, which had

ὅ τιπερ προκεχωρήκει αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς θαλάσσης, ἐπέστησαν δύο καὶ μηχανὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς πύργοις. Προκαλύμματα δὲ δέρρεις καὶ διφθέραι αὐτοῖς ἦσαν, ὡς μήτε πυρφόροις βέλεσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους βάλλεσθαι, τοῖς τε ἐργαζομένοις προβολὴν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ εἶναι πρὸς τὰ τοξεύματα· ἅμα τε ὅσοι προσπλέοντες τῶν Τυρίων ἔβλαπτον τοὺς χωννύντας, ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων βαλλόμενοι οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀνασταλήσεσθαι ἔμελλον.

XIX. Οἱ δὲ Τύριοι πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντιμηχανῶνται τοιόνδε. Ναῦν ἱππαγωγὸν κλημάτων τε ξηρῶν καὶ ἄλλης ὕλης εὐφλέκτου ἐμπλήσαντες δύο ἱστοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ πρῴρᾳ καταπηγνύουσι καὶ ἐν κύκλῳ περιφράσσουσιν ἐς ὅσον μακρότατον, ὡς φορυτόν τε ταύτῃ καὶ δᾷδας ὅσας πλείστας δέξασθαι· πρὸς δὲ πίσσαν τε καὶ θεῖον καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐς τὸ παρακαλέσαι μεγάλην φλόγα ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἐπε-
2 φόρησαν. Παρέτειναν δὲ καὶ κεραίαν διπλῆν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱστοῖς ἀμφοτέροις, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐξήρτησαν ἐν λέβησιν ὅσα ἐπιχυθέντα ἢ ἐπιβληθέντα ἐπὶ μέγα τὴν φλόγα ἐξάψειν ἔμελλεν· ἕρματά τε ἐς τὴν πρύμναν ἐνέθεσαν, τοῦ ἐξᾶραι ἐς ὕψος τὴν πρῷραν πιεζομένης κατὰ πρύμναν
3 τῆς νεώς. Ἔπειτα ἄνεμον τηρήσαντες ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ χῶμα ἐπιφέροντα, ἐξάψαντες τριήρεσι τὴν ναῦν κατ' οὐρὰν εἷλκον. Ὡς δὲ ἐπέλαζον ἤδη τῷ τε χώματι καὶ τοῖς πύργοις, πῦρ ἐμβαλόντες ἐς τὴν ὕλην καὶ ὡς βιαιότατα ἅμα ταῖς τριήρεσιν ἐπανελκύσαντες τὴν ναῦν ἐνσείουσιν ἄκρῳ τῷ χώματι· αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ ἐν τῇ νηὶ καιομένῃ ἤδη
4 ἐξενήξαντο οὐ χαλεπῶς. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἥ τε φλὸξ πολλὴ ἐνέπιπτε τοῖς πύργοις καὶ αἱ κεραῖαι

now run far over the sea, and engines on the towers; they placed hides and skins to cover them, so that they could not be pelted with fire-darts from the wall, and that the builders might have also a screen against arrows; besides, any Tyrians who rowed up and tried to damage the builders of the mole, receiving volleys from the towers, would probably be easily repulsed.

XIX. The Tyrians, however, took counter steps thus; they filled a cavalry transport with dry boughs and a good deal of other combustible wood, fixed two masts in the bows, and built high bulwarks round, extending as far as possible, so as to contain as many chips and shavings and torches as possible; to say nothing of pitch, sulphur, and anything else to stir a great blaze, which they liberally added. Then they lashed a double yardarm to each mast, and from it hung, in cauldrons, anything which either poured or thrown on would increase the flame, and they ballasted the stern to lift the bows as high as possible by the weight aft. Then they waited for a wind blowing towards the mole, and making fast hawsers towed the transport astern with triremes. When they came near the mole and the towers, they lighted the material and as violently as possible hauled with the triremes and dashed the ship on the edge of the mole. The crew of the ship, already burning fiercely, easily swam off. Soon

περικλασθεῖσαι ἐξέχεαν ἐς τὸ πῦρ ὅσα ἐς ἔξαψιν
τῆς φλογὸς παρεσκευασμένα ἦν. Οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν
τριηρῶν πλησίον τοῦ χώματος ἀνακωχεύοντες
ἐτόξευον ἐς τοὺς πύργους, ὡς μὴ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι
πελάσαι ὅσοι σβεστήριόν τι τῇ φλογὶ ἐπέφερον.
5 Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ κατεχομένων ἤδη ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς τῶν
πύργων, ἐκδραμόντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πολλοὶ καὶ
ἐς κελήτια ἐμβάντες ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ ἐποκείλαντες
τοῦ χώματος τόν τε χάρακα οὐ χαλεπῶς διέσπα-
σαν τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ προβεβλημένον καὶ τὰς
μηχανὰς ξυμπάσας κατέφλεξαν ὅσας μὴ τὸ ἀπὸ
6 τῆς νεὼς πῦρ ἐπέσχεν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τό τε
χῶμα ἀπὸ τῆς ἠπείρου ἀρξαμένους πλατύτερον
χωννύναι, ὡς πλέονας δέξασθαι πύργους, καὶ τοὺς
μηχανοποιοὺς μηχανὰς ἄλλας κατασκευάζειν
ἐκέλευσεν. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα παρεσκευάζετο, αὐτὸς
τούς τε ὑπασπιστὰς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶ-
νας ἐπὶ Σιδῶνος ἐστάλη, ὡς ἀθροίσων ἐκεῖ ὅσαι
ἤδη ἦσαν αὐτῷ τριήρεις, ὅτι ἀπορώτερα τὰ τῆς
πολιορκίας ἐφαίνετο, θαλασσοκρατούντων τῶν
Τυρίων.

XX. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Γηρόστρατός τε ὁ Ἀράδου
βασιλεὺς καὶ Ἔνυλος ὁ Βύβλου ὡς ἔμαθον τὰς
πόλεις σφῶν ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐχομένας, ἀπολι-
πόντες Αὐτοφραδάτην τε καὶ τὰς ξὺν αὐτῷ νέας,
παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον ξὺν τῷ ναυτικῷ τῷ σφετέρῳ
ἀφίκοντο καὶ αἱ τῶν Σιδωνίων τριήρεις σὺν
αὐτοῖς, ὥστε Φοινίκων μὲν νῆες ὀγδοήκοντα
2 μάλιστα αὐτῷ παρεγένοντο. Ἧκον δὲ ἐν ταῖς
αὐταῖς ἡμέραις καὶ ἐκ Ῥόδου τριήρεις ἥ τε περί-
πολος καλουμένη καὶ ξὺν ταύτῃ ἄλλαι ἐννέα, καὶ
ἐκ Σόλων καὶ Μαλλοῦ τρεῖς καὶ Λυκίας δέκα,

enough a great fire fell on the towers, and as the yards broke, they poured into the fire anything that had been made ready to feed the flame. The men in the triremes lay to near the mole, and shot at the towers, so that it was not safe for anyone bringing materials to quench the fire to get near. At this stage, the towers being well alight, the citizens sallied in large numbers, and jumping into small boats put in at different parts of the mole and easily tore down the palisade set up to protect it; besides, they burned all the engines which had not been caught by fire from the ships. Alexander, however, bade his men to build the mole broader from the mainland, so as to hold more towers, and the engineers he bade construct more engines. While these were being got ready, he with the bodyguard and the Agrianes made for Sidon, to collect all his triremes there, since the siege seemed more difficult as long as the Tyrians held the sea.

XX. Meanwhile Gerostratus king of Aradus and Enylos of Byblus, learning that Alexander held their cities, left Autophradates and his fleet and arrived with their own contingents, and with them the Sidonian triremes, so that a total force joined him of some eighty Phoenician sail. There arrived also at the same time triremes from Rhodes, nine, in addition to their state guardship, three from Soli and

ἐκ Μακεδονίας δὲ πεντηκόντορος, ἐφ᾽ ἧς Πρωτέας
3 ὁ Ἀνδρονίκου ἐπέπλει. Οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον
καὶ οἱ τῆς Κύπρου βασιλεῖς ἐς τὴν Σιδῶνα
κατέσχον ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν μάλιστα καὶ εἴκοσιν,
ἐπειδὴ τήν τε ἧσσαν τὴν κατ᾽ Ἰσσὸν Δαρείου
ἐπύθοντο καὶ ἡ Φοινίκη πᾶσα ἐχομένη ἤδη ὑπ᾽
Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐφόβει αὐτούς. Καὶ τούτοις πᾶσιν
ἔδωκεν Ἀλέξανδρος ἄδειαν τῶν πρόσθεν, ὅτι ὑπ᾽
ἀνάγκης μᾶλλόν τι ἢ κατὰ γνώμην τὴν σφῶν
ἐδόκουν ξυνταχθῆναι τοῖς Πέρσαις ἐς τὸ ναυτι-
κόν.

4 Ἐν ᾧ δὲ αἵ τε μηχαναὶ αὐτῷ ξυνεπήγνυντο
καὶ αἱ νῆες ὡς εἰς ἐπίπλουν τε καὶ ναυμαχίας
ἀπόπειραν ἐξηρτύοντο, ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀναλαβὼν
τῶν τε ἱππέων ἴλας ἔστιν ἃς καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς
καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνάς τε καὶ τοὺς τοξότας ἐπ᾽
Ἀραβίας στέλλεται εἰς τὸν Ἀντιλίβανον καλού-
5 μενον τὸ ὄρος· καὶ τὰ μὲν βίᾳ τῶν ταύτῃ ἐξελών,
τὰ δὲ ὁμολογίᾳ παραστησάμενος ἐν δέκα ἡμέραις
ἐπανῆγεν εἰς τὴν Σιδῶνα, καὶ καταλαμβάνει
Κλέανδρον τὸν Πολεμοκράτους ἐκ Πελοποννήσου
ἥκοντα καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ μισθοφόρους Ἕλληνας ἐς
τετρακισχιλίους.

6 Ὡς δὲ συνετέτακτο αὐτῷ τὸ ναυτικόν, ἐπιβιβά-
σας τοῖς καταστρώμασι τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ὅσοι
ἱκανοὶ ἐδόκουν ἐς τὸ ἔργον, εἰ μὴ διέκπλοις
μᾶλλόν τι ἢ ἐν χερσὶν ἡ ναυμαχία γίγνοιτο, ἄρας
ἐκ τῆς Σιδῶνος ἐπέπλει τῇ Τύρῳ ξυντεταγμέναις
ταῖς ναυσὶν αὐτὸς μὲν κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας,
ὃ δὴ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος αὐτῷ ἀνεῖχε, καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ
οἵ τε Κυπρίων βασιλεῖς καὶ ὅσοι Φοινίκων, πλὴν
Πνυταγόρου· οὗτος δὲ καὶ Κράτερος τὸ εὐώνυμον

Mallos and ten from Lycia, and a fifty-oar from Macedon, its captain Proteus son of Andronicus. Soon also the kings of Cyprus put in at Sidon with about 120 sail, having learnt of Dareius' defeat on the Issus, and scared by Alexander's hold over all Phoenicia. To all these Alexander let bygones be bygones, supposing that it was rather from necessity than choice that they had joined naval forces with the Persians.

While his engines were being fitted together, and his ships were being equipped for the attack and for trying the issue of a naval battle, Alexander with some of the cavalry squadrons, the Agrianes, and the archers, marched towards Arabia to the mountain called Antilibanus. Part of this country he captured, part he received in surrender, and in ten days returned to Sidon, and found Cleandros son of Polemocrates arrived from the Peloponnese and with him four thousand Greek mercenaries.

When his navy was in due array, he put on deck as many of his bodyguard as he thought sufficient for the action—unless, of course, the engagement should rather be a matter of breaking through and charging than of hand-to-hand fighting—and weighing anchor sailed from Sidon to Tyre with his ships in close order; himself on the right wing, that is, seaward, and with him the Cyprian kings and all the Phoenicians, except Pnytagoras, who, with Craterus, commanded the left wing of the whole

7 κέρας εἶχον τῆς πάσης τάξεως. Τοῖς δὲ Τυρίοις
πρότερον μὲν ναυμαχεῖν ἐγνωσμένον ἦν, εἰ κατὰ
θάλασσαν ἐπιπλέοι σφίσιν Ἀλέξανδρος, τότε δὲ
πλῆθος νεῶν πολὺ ἀπροσδοκήτως κατιδόντες (οὐ
γάρ πω πεπυσμένοι ἦσαν τάς τε Κυπρίων ναῦς
καὶ τὰς Φοινίκων ξυμπάσας Ἀλέξανδρον ἔχοντα)
8 καὶ ἅμα ξυντεταγμένως τοῦ ἐπίπλου γιγνομένου
(ὀλίγον γὰρ πρὶν προσσχεῖν τῇ πόλει ἀνεκώχευ-
σαν ἔτι πελάγιαι αἱ ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ νῆες·[1] ἔπειτα
οὕτω ξυνταξάμενοι, ὡς οὐκ ἀντανήγοντο, πολλῷ
τῷ ῥοθίῳ ἐπέπλεον), ταῦτα ὁρῶντες οἱ Τύριοι
ναυμαχεῖν μὲν ἀπέγνωσαν· τριήρεσι δὲ ὅσας τῶν
λιμένων τὰ στόματα ἐδέχοντο βύζην τὸν ἔσπλουν
φραξάμενοι ἐφύλασσον, ὡς μὴ ἐς τῶν λιμένων
τινὰ ἐγκαθορμισθῆναι τῶν πολεμίων τὸν στόλον.
9 Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ὡς οὐκ ἀντανήγοντο οἱ Τύριοι,
ἐπέπλει τῇ πόλει· καὶ ἐς μὲν τὸν λιμένα τὸν
πρὸς Σιδῶνος βιάζεσθαι ἀπέγνω διὰ στενότητα
τοῦ στόματος καὶ ἅμα ἀντιπρῴροις τριήρεσι
πολλαῖς ὁρῶν πεφραγμένον τὸν ἔσπλουν· τρεῖς
δὲ τὰς ἐξωτάτω ἐφορμούσας τῷ στόματι τριήρεις
προσπεσόντες οἱ Φοίνικες καὶ ἀντιπρῴροις ἐμβα-
λόντες καταδύουσιν· οἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν οὐ
χαλεπῶς ἀπενήξαντο ἐς τὴν γῆν, φιλίαν οὖσαν.
10 Τότε μὲν δὴ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ ποιητοῦ χώματος κατὰ
τὸν αἰγιαλόν, ἵνα σκέπη τῶν ἀνέμων ἐφαίνετο,
οἱ σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὡρμίσαντο. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ
τοὺς μὲν Κυπρίους ξὺν ταῖς σφετέραις ναυσὶ καὶ
Ἀνδρομάχῳ τῷ ναυάρχῳ κατὰ τὸν λιμένα τὸν

[1] *νῆες·* Sintenis after Hertlein and from a β gives *νῆες, εἴ πως ἄρα ἐς ναυμαχίαν τοὺς Τυρίους προκαλέσαιντο, ἔπειτα* . . . A omits.

armada. The Tyrians first decided to give battle by sea, should Alexander attack them there. But then sighting a host of ships far beyond their estimate —for they were unaware so far that all the Cyprian and all the Phoenician ships were with Alexander— and observing the attack coming in regular order— I must note that just before closing on the city Alexander's ships while still in the open had lain to, hoping to draw out the Tyrians to an engagement, and then as they did not put out in their original order came on at great speed—the Tyrians, I repeat, observing this, refused battle; but with so many of the triremes as the mouths of their harbours would hold they blocked the entrance and guarded them, so that the enemy's armada could not anchor in any of the harbours.

Alexander, however, on the Tyrians' refusal, sailed towards the city; he would not force an entry into the harbour facing Sidon because of the narrowness of the entry; and also because it was blocked with several triremes, bows on; still the Phoenicians charged, bow to bow, the three triremes which were moored farthest out, and sank them; their crews swam comfortably to the friendly shore; and on this Alexander's fleet came to anchor near the new-made mole along the shore, where there seemed to be protection from the winds. Next day Alexander ordered the Cyprians, with their contingent and with Andromachus the admiral, to blockade the city

ἐκ Σιδῶνος φέροντα ἐκέλευσεν ἐφορμεῖν τῇ πόλει, τοὺς δὲ Φοίνικας κατὰ τὸν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα τοῦ χώματος τὸν πρὸς Αἴγυπτον ἀνέχοντα, ἵνα καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ σκηνὴ ἦν.

XXI. Ἤδη δὲ καὶ μηχανοποιῶν αὐτῷ πολλῶν ἔκ τε Κύπρου καὶ Φοινίκης ἁπάσης συλλελεγμένων, μηχαναὶ πολλαὶ συμπεπηγμέναι ἦσαν, αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ χώματος, αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππαγωγῶν νεῶν, ἃς ἐκ Σιδῶνος ἅμα οἷ ἐκόμισεν, αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τριηρῶν ὅσαι αὐτῶν οὐ ταχυναυτοῦσαι ἦσαν.
2 Ὡς δὲ παρεσκεύαστο ἤδη ξύμπαντα, προσῆγον τὰς μηχανὰς κατά τε τὸ ποιητὸν χῶμα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ τοῦ τείχους προσορμιζομένων τε καὶ ἀποπειρωμένων τοῦ τείχους.

3 Οἱ δὲ Τύριοι ἐπί τε τῶν ἐπάλξεων τῶν κατὰ τὸ χῶμα πύργους ξυλίνους ἐπέστησαν, ὡς ἀπομάχεσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ εἴ πη ἄλλῃ αἱ μηχαναὶ προσήγοντο, βέλεσί τε ἠμύνοντο καὶ πυρφόροις οἰστοῖς ἔβαλλον αὐτὰς τὰς ναῦς, ὥστε φόβον παρέχειν τοῖς Μακεδόσι πελάζειν τῷ τείχει.
4 Ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ τείχη κατὰ τὸ χῶμα τό τε ὕψος εἰς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μάλιστα πόδας καὶ ἐς πλάτος ξύμμετρον λίθοις μεγάλοις ἐν γύψῳ κειμένοις ξυμπεπηγότα. Ταῖς δὲ ἱππαγωγοῖς τε καὶ ταῖς τριήρεσι τῶν Μακεδόνων, ὅσαι τὰς μηχανὰς προσῆγον τῷ τείχει, καὶ ταύτῃ οὐκ εὔπορον ἐγίγνετο πελάζειν τῇ πόλει, ὅτι λίθοι πολλοὶ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος προβεβλημένοι
5 ἐξεῖργον αὐτῶν τὴν ἐγγὺς προσβολήν. Καὶ τούτους Ἀλέξανδρος ἔγνω ἐξελκύσαι ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης· ἠνύετο δὲ χαλεπῶς τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον, οἷα δὴ

at the harbour that faced Sidon, and the Phoenicians to do the same at the harbour on the other side of the mole, facing towards Eygpt, where was his own pavilion.

XXI. By this time a good many engineers had collected from Cyprus and the whole of Phoenicia, and a large number of engines had been built, some on the mole, some on the transports which Alexander had brought with him from Sidon, and some on the slower triremes. When everything was ready, they brought forward the engines at the end of the new-made mole and from the ships which lay to alongside the walls at all points and which now began to attack them.

The Tyrians set wooden towers on the battlements which faced the mole, so as to fight therefrom; and wherever else the engines were being brought to bear, they defended themselves with missiles and with fiery arrows assaulted the ships themselves, so that the Macedonians feared to approach their wall. The walls facing the mole were about 150 feet high and of corresponding breadth, stoutly built of big blocks of stone fitted in mortar. Even at this point the Macedonian transports and triremes, which brought up engines against the wall, found it not easy to approach the city, since heaps of stones cast into the sea prevented their approaching closely. These stones Alexander determined to drag out of the sea; but this work went on with difficulty, being

ἀπὸ νεῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ γῆς βεβαίου γιγνόμενον, ἄλλως τε καὶ οἱ Τύριοι ναῦς καταφράξαντες παρὰ τὰς ἀγκύρας ἐπῆγον τῶν τριηρῶν καὶ ὑποτέμνοντες τὰς σχοίνους τῶν ἀγκυρῶν ἄπορον τὴν προσόρμισιν ταῖς πολεμίαις ναυσὶν ἐποίουν.
6 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τριακοντόρους πολλὰς ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον φράξας ἐπέστησεν ἐγκαρσίας πρὸ τῶν ἀγκυρῶν, ὡς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀναστέλλεσθαι τὸν ἐπίπλουν τῶν νεῶν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὣς ὕφαλοι κολυμβηταὶ τὰς σχοίνους αὐτοῖς ὑπέτεμνον. Οἱ δὲ ἁλύσεσιν εἰς τὰς ἀγκύρας ἀντὶ σχοίνων χρώμενοι, οἱ Μακεδόνες, καθίεσαν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἔτι πλέον τοῖς
7 κολυμβηταῖς γίγνεσθαι. Ἐξάπτοντες οὖν βρόχους τῶν λίθων ἀπὸ τοῦ χώματος ἀνέσπων αὐτοὺς ἔξω τῆς θαλάσσης· ἔπειτα μηχαναῖς μετεωρίσαντες κατὰ βάθους ἀφίεσαν, ἵνα οὐκέτι προβεβλημένοι βλάψειν ἔμελλον. Ὅπου δὲ καθαρὸν πεποίητο τῶν προβόλων τὸ τεῖχος, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἤδη ταύτῃ αἱ νῆες προσεῖχον.

8 Οἱ δὲ Τύριοι, πάντῃ ἄποροι γιγνόμενοι, ἔγνωσαν ἐπίπλουν ποιήσασθαι ταῖς Κυπρίαις ναυσίν, αἳ κατὰ τὸν λιμένα ἐφώρμουν τὸν ἐς Σιδῶνα τετραμμένον· ἐκ πολλοῦ δὴ καταπετάσαντες τοῦ λιμένος τὸ στόμα ἱστίοις, τοῦ μὴ καταφανῆ γενέσθαι τῶν τριηρῶν τὴν πλήρωσιν, ἀμφὶ μέσον ἡμέρας, ὁπότε οἵ τε ναῦται ἐπὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἐσκεδασμένοι ἦσαν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τούτῳ μάλιστα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς πόλεως ναυτικοῦ
9 ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἀπεχώρει, πληρώσαντες πεντήρεις μὲν τρεῖς καὶ τετρήρεις ἴσας, τριήρεις δὲ ἑπτὰ ὡς ἀκριβεστάτοις τε τοῖς πληρώμασι καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν καταστρωμάτων μάχεσθαι μέλλου-

carried on from ships and not from land; moreover, the Tyrians protected with armour certain of their ships and bore down on the anchors of the triremes and cut the cables, thus making it impossible for the enemy's ships to lie near by. But Alexander protected several thirty-oars in the same way, and laid them athwart in front of the anchors to repel the attack of the Tyrian ships. Even so, divers plunging in cut the cables. So the Macedonians used chains for anchor cables, and lowered them, so that the divers were made useless. Then standing on the mole they cast running knots round the stones and drew them out of the sea, and then hurled them with their engines into deep water, where there was no more chance of their being thrown in the way and doing any more harm. Thus, when they had cleared the approach to the wall, the ships lay alongside quite easily.

The Tyrians, now hard pressed all round, determined to attack the Cyprian vessels which were blockading the harbour that fronted Sidon. For a long time they kept sails stretched in front of the harbour mouth, that the manning of the triremes might not be seen, and about midday, when the Greek sailors were scattered on necessary business and Alexander had just retired from the ships on the south of the city to his pavilion, they manned three quinquiremes and quadriremes, and seven triremes, with their smartest crews and the best-armed marines, to fight from the decks, and—what

σιν εὐοπλοτάτοις καὶ ἅμα εὐθαρσεστάτοις ἐς τοὺς ναυτικοὺς ἀγῶνας, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἀτρέμα τῇ εἰρεσίᾳ ἐπὶ μιᾶς νεὼς ἐξέπλεον ἄνευ κελευστῶν τὰς κώπας παραφέροντες· ὡς δὲ ἐπέστρεφον ἤδη ἐπὶ τοὺς Κυπρίους καὶ ἐγγὺς τοῦ καθορᾶσθαι ἦσαν, τότε δὴ ξὺν βοῇ τε πολλῇ καὶ ἐγκελευσμῷ ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἅμα τῇ εἰρεσίᾳ ξυντόνῳ ἐπεφέροντο.

XXII. Ξυνέβη δὲ ἐκείνῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀποχωρῆσαι ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνήν, οὐ διατρίψαντα δὲ κατὰ τὸ εἰωθός, δι᾽ ὀλίγου ἐπὶ

2 τὰς ναῦς ἐπανελθεῖν. Οἱ δὲ Τύριοι προσπεσόντες ἀπροσδοκήτως ταῖς ναυσὶν ὁρμούσαις, καὶ ταῖς μὲν πάντῃ κεναῖς ἐπιτυχόντες, τῶν δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ αὐτὴν τὴν βοὴν καὶ τὸν ἐπίπλουν χαλεπῶς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων πληρουμένων, τήν τε Πνυταγόρου τοῦ βασιλέως πεντήρη εὐθὺς ὑπὸ τῇ πρώτῃ ἐμβολῇ κατέδυσαν καὶ τὴν Ἀνδροκλέους τοῦ Ἀμαθουσίου καὶ τὴν Πασικράτους τοῦ Θουριέως, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐξωθοῦντες ἔκοπτον.

3 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ᾔσθετο τὸν ἔκπλουν τῶν Τυρίων τριηρῶν, τὰς μὲν πολλὰς τῶν ξὺν αὐτῷ νεῶν, ὅπως ἑκάστη πληρωθείη, ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ λιμένος ἀνακωχεύειν ἔταξεν, ὡς μὴ καὶ ἄλλαι ἐκπλεύσειαν τῶν Τυρίων νῆες· αὐτὸς δὲ πεντήρεις τε τὰς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τῶν τριηρῶν ἐς πέντε μάλιστα, ὅσαι ἔφθησαν αὐτῷ κατὰ τάχος πληρωθεῖσαι, περιέπλει τὴν πόλιν ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς

4 ἐκπεπλευκότας τῶν Τυρίων. Οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, τόν τε ἐπίπλουν τῶν πολεμίων κατιδόντες καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, βοῇ

is more—their bravest sea-fighting men, and first gently rowed out in single file, rowing without anyone to call the stroke; but when they were turning towards the Cyprian ships and were on the point of being seen, then, with shouting and calling of the time and with orderly and regular strokes, on they came.

XXII. On that day, as it fell out, Alexander had retired to his pavilion, but had not rested there, as his custom was, but returned to the ships quite soon. The Tyrians falling all unexpected on the anchored ships, finding some quite empty, and others being hastily manned from any who chanced to be there at the noise and the attack, at the first charge sank the pentereme of King Pnytagoras, with those of Androcles of Amathus and Pasicrates of Thurion; the rest they drove ashore and broke up.

Alexander, however, learning of the sally of the Tyrian triremes, bade most of his ships to lay to at the harbour mouth as soon as each was manned, that no other Tyrian ships might sally; then he took what quinqueremes he had and some five triremes, which had got their crews on board in all haste, and sailed round the city against the Tyrians who had broken out. Those on the wall, seeing the enemy attack and Alexander himself aboard, bade

τε ἐπανάγειν ἐνεκελεύοντο τοῖς ἐκ τῶν σφετέρων
νεῶν καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἐξακουστὸν ἦν ὑπὸ θορύβου
ξυνεχομένων ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, σημείοις ἄλλοις καὶ
ἄλλοις ἐπεκάλουν ἐς τὴν ἀναχώρησιν. Οἱ δὲ
ὀψέ ποτε αἰσθόμενοι τὸν ἐπίπλουν τῶν ἀμφ'
Ἀλέξανδρον ὑποστρέψαντες ἐς τὸν λιμένα ἔφευ-
5 γον. Καὶ ὀλίγαι μὲν τῶν νεῶν φθάνουσιν ὑπεκ-
φυγοῦσαι, ταῖς δὲ πλείοσιν ἐμβαλοῦσαι αἱ ξὺν
Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὰς μὲν αὐτῶν ἄπλους ἐποίησαν,
πεντήρης δέ τις καὶ τετρήρης αὐτῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ
τῷ στόματι τοῦ λιμένος ἐλήφθησαν. Φόνος δὲ
τῶν ἐπιβατῶν οὐ πολὺς ἐγένετο. Ὡς γὰρ
ᾔσθοντο ἐχομένας τὰς ναῦς, ἀπενήξαντο οὐ
χαλεπῶς ἐς τὸν λιμένα.

6 Ὡς δὲ οὐδεμία ἔτι τοῖς Τυρίοις ἐκ τῶν νεῶν
ὠφέλεια ἦν, ἐπῆγον ἤδη οἱ Μακεδόνες τὰς μηχα-
νὰς τῷ τείχει αὐτῶν. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸ χῶμα
προσαγόμεναι διὰ ἰσχὺν τοῦ τείχους οὐδὲν ἤνυον
ὅ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον· οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸ πρὸς Σιδῶνα
τετραμμένον τῆς πόλεως τῶν νεῶν τινας τῶν
7 μηχανοφόρων προσῆγον. Ὡς δὲ οὐδὲ ταύτῃ
ἤνυεν, ἐς τὸ πρὸς νότον αὖ ἄνεμον καὶ πρὸς
Αἴγυπτον ἀνέχον τεῖχος μετῄει, πάντῃ ἀποπει-
ρώμενος τοῦ ἔργου. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα πρῶτον κατε-
σείσθη τε τὸ τεῖχος ἐπὶ μέγα καί τι καὶ κατη-
ρείφθη αὐτοῦ παραρραγέν. Τότε μὲν ὅσον
ἐπιβαλὼν γεφύρας ᾗ ἐρήριπτο τοῦ τείχους,
ἀπεπειράθη ἐς ὀλίγον τῆς προσβολῆς· καὶ οἱ
Τύριοι οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπεκρούσαντο τοὺς Μακε-
δόνας.

XXIII. Τρίτῃ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡμέρᾳ νηνεμίαν
τε φυλάξας καὶ παρακαλέσας τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν

their own men with shouts to put about, and as no one could hear from the general noise, they used various signals to ensure their retreat. The seamen, observing too late the attack of Alexander's ships, went about, and hurried back to the harbour. A few of the Tyrian ships managed to get to safety, but Alexander's ships charged the bulk of them and put some out of action, while a quinquireme and a quadrireme were captured at the very entrance of the harbour. There was no great slaughter of the crews, for they, as soon as they saw that their ships were held up, swam off without much difficulty into the harbour.

Now that the Tyrians could look for no help from their ships, the Macedonians began to bring up their engines against the wall. When brought along the mole, they did nothing worthy of remark, owing to the strength of the walls; but, on the side of the city looking towards Sidon, the Greeks brought up some of their ships which carried engines. But as they did not succeed even here, Alexander turned to the south and the harbour facing towards Egypt, testing the wall from all sides. There first the wall was badly shaken and a part broken down, and thereupon Alexander made a slight and tentative attack so far at least as throwing bridges over the broken part of the wall: the Tyrians, however, easily repulsed the Macedonians.

XXIII. The third day afterwards, having waited for a calm, and urging his battalion commanders to

τάξεων ἐς τὸ ἔργον, ἐπῆγε τῇ πόλει ἐπὶ τῶν
νεῶν τὰς μηχανάς. Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν κατέσεισε
τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ μέγα. Ὡς δὲ ἀποχρῶν εἰς
πλάτος ἐφάνη τὸ παρερρηγμένον, τὰς μὲν μηχα-
2 νοφόρους ναῦς ἐπανάγειν ἐκέλευσεν· ὁ δὲ δύο
ἄλλας ἐπῆγεν, αἳ τὰς γεφύρας αὐτῷ ἔφερον, ἃς
δὴ ἐπιβάλλειν ἐπενόει τῷ κατερρηγμένῳ τοῦ
τείχους. Καὶ τὴν μὲν μίαν τῶν νεῶν οἱ ὑπα-
σπισταὶ ἔλαβον, ᾗ ἐπετέτακτο Ἄδμητος, τὴν
ἑτέραν δὲ ἡ Κοίνου τάξις οἱ πεζέταιροι[1] καλού-
μενοι· καὶ αὐτὸς ξὺν τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς ἐπιβή-
3 σεσθαι τοῦ τείχους ᾗ παρείκοι ἔμελλε. Τὰς
τριήρεις δὲ τὰς μὲν ἐπιπλεῖν κατὰ τοὺς λιμένας
ἀμφοτέρους ἐκέλευσεν, εἴ πως πρὸς σφᾶς τετραμ-
μένων τῶν Τυρίων βιάσαιντο τὸν ἔσπλουν· ὅσαι
δὲ αὐτῶν βέλη ἀπὸ μηχανῶν βαλλόμενα εἶχον
ἢ ὅσαι τοξότας ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρωμάτων ἔφερον,
ταύτας δὲ ἐκέλευσεν ἐν κύκλῳ περιπλεούσας τὸ
τεῖχος ἐποκέλλειν τε ὅπῃ παρείκοι καὶ ἀνα-
κωχεύειν ἐντὸς βέλους, ἔστε τὸ ἐποκεῖλαι ἄπορον
γίγνοιτο, ὡς πανταχόθεν βαλλομένους τοὺς Τυρίους
ἐν τῷ δεινῷ ἀμφιβόλους γίγνεσθαι.
4 Ὡς δὲ αἵ τε νῆες αἱ σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προσέσχον
τῇ πόλει καὶ αἱ γέφυραι ἐπεβλήθησαν τῷ τείχει
ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ἐνταῦθα οἱ ὑπασπισταὶ εὐρώστως
κατὰ ταύτας ἀνέβαινον ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος· ὅ τε γὰρ
Ἄδμητος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐν τῷ τότε ἐγένετο, καὶ
ἅμα Ἀλέξανδρος εἵπετο αὐτοῖς, τοῦ τε ἔργου
αὐτοῦ καρτερῶς ἁπτόμενος καὶ θεατὴς τῶν

[1] ἀσθέτεροι (read, however, -έταιροι), A a γ, is possibly correct—"civilian volunteers"—the word recurs IV. 23. 1 and elsewhere.

action, Alexander brought up against the city the engines on board the ships. First he battered down the wall for a good space. But when the breach seemed wide enough, he ordered up the engine-carrying ships; besides, he sent in two others, fitted with gangways, which were to be let fall on the breach of the wall. One of the ships the bodyguard took over, Admetus being its captain; the other was manned by Coenus' battalion, called the territorial infantry. He was ready himself with his bodyguard to rush in wherever the wall gave. A part of his triremes he ordered to sail round about either harbour, to see if perhaps (the Tyrians being busy with the attacking troops) they might force an entrance. Other vessels which carried ammunition for the engines or had archers on deck, Alexander ordered to circle about the wall, and put in wherever it was possible, and lay to within range, so long as it should be impossible to lie alongside; so that the Tyrians should be attacked from all sides and become distracted by their danger.

As soon as Alexander's ships closed upon the city and the gangways were thrown upon the wall from the ships, the guards stoutly mounted the wall by these; not only did Admetus behave valiantly that day, but Alexander was with them, both taking a conspicuous part in the action and keeping his eyes

ἄλλων, ὅτῳ τι λαμπρὸν κατ' ἀρετὴν ἐν τῷ
5 κινδύνῳ ἐτολμᾶτο. Καὶ ταύτῃ πρῶτον ᾗ ἐπετέτακτο Ἀλέξανδρος ἐλήφθη τὸ τεῖχος, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀποκρουσθέντων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῶν Τυρίων, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον βεβαίῳ τε καὶ ἅμα οὐ πάντη ἀποτόμῳ τῇ προσβάσει ἐχρήσαντο οἱ Μακεδόνες. Καὶ Ἄδμητος μέν, πρῶτος ἐπιβὰς τοῦ τείχους καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐγκελευόμενος ἐπιβαίνειν, βληθεὶς λόγχῃ ἀποθνήσκει αὐτοῦ· ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔσχε τὸ τεῖχος ξὺν τοῖς ἑταίροις.
6 Ὡς δὲ εἴχοντο αὐτῷ πύργοι τε ἔστιν οἳ καὶ μεταπύργια, αὐτὸς μὲν παρῄει διὰ τῶν ἐπάλξεων ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια, ὅτι ταύτῃ εὐπορωτέρα ἐφαίνετο ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἡ κάθοδος.

XXIV. Οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν οἵ τε Φοίνικες κατὰ τὸν λιμένα τὸν πρὸς Αἰγύπτου, καθ' ὅνπερ καὶ ἐφορμοῦντες ἐτύγχανον, βιασάμενοι καὶ τὰ κλεῖθρα διασπάσαντες ἔκοπτον τὰς ναῦς ἐν τῷ λιμένι, ταῖς μὲν μετεώροις ἐμβάλλοντες, τὰς δὲ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐξωθοῦντες, καὶ οἱ Κύπριοι κατὰ τὸν ἄλλον λιμένα τὸν ἐκ Σιδῶνος φέροντα, οὐδὲ κλεῖθρον τοῦτόν γε ἔχοντα, εἰσπλεύσαντες εἷλον
2 εὐθὺς ταύτῃ τὴν πόλιν. Τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν Τυρίων τὸ μὲν τεῖχος, ὡς ἐχόμενον εἶδον, ἐκλείπουσιν· ἀθροισθέντες δὲ κατὰ τὸ Ἀγηνόριον καλούμενον ἐπέστρεψαν ταύτῃ ἐπὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ξὺν τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς ἐπὶ τούτους χωρήσας τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ μαχομένους διέφθειρεν αὐτῶν, τοῖς δὲ φεύγουσιν ἐφείπετο.
3 Καὶ φόνος ἦν πολύς, τῶν τε ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμένος ἐχόντων ἤδη τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῆς Κοίνου τάξεως παρεληλυθυίας ἐς αὐτήν. Ὀργῇ γὰρ ἐχώρουν

open for any brave or brilliant action of the rest. And the part of the wall captured first was, in fact, just where Alexander had posted himself; the Tyrians were rather easily beaten off from it, since now for the first time the Macedonians had an approach that was solid and not precipitous on all sides. Admetus, first on the wall, and cheering his men on, was wounded by a spear and died there; after him Alexander followed up and seized the wall with his followers. Holding then some of the towers and the curtains between them, he passed on through the battlements towards the royal quarters; this way it appeared that descent into the city would be easier.

XXIV. To turn to the ships and their crews, the Phoenicians near the southern harbour, where they were moored, forcing their way and tearing asunder the booms, played havoc with the ships in the harbour, attacking some afloat, and driving others ashore; the Cyprians by the northern harbour, which had not even a boom, sailed in and captured the city on this side. The main body of the Tyrians deserted the wall when they saw it was in the enemy's possession: but they massed together at what is called the Shrine of Agenor, and there made a stand against the Macedonians. There Alexander with his bodyguard came upon them, and some he slew there, still fighting; the rest he turned to flight and pursued. There was a bloody massacre; now that those coming from the harbour were already masters of the city, and Coenus' battalion had passed inside. For the Macedonians fell furiously on every-

ἐπὶ πᾶν οἱ Μακεδόνες, τῆς τε πολιορκίας τῇ
τριβῇ ἀχθόμενοι καὶ ὅτι λαβόντες τινὰς αὐτῶν
οἱ Τύριοι πλέοντας ἐκ Σιδῶνος ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος
ἀναβιβάσαντες, ὅπως ἄποπτον εἴη ἀπὸ τοῦ
στρατοπέδου, σφάξαντες ἔρριψαν ἐς τὴν θάλασ-
4 σαν. Ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν μὲν Τυρίων ἐς ὀκτα-
κισχιλίους, τῶν Μακεδόνων δὲ ἐν τῇ τότε
προσβολῇ Ἄδμητός τε, ὁ πρῶτος ἑλὼν τὸ τεῖχος,
ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος, καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ εἴκοσι τῶν
ὑπασπιστῶν, ἐν δὲ τῇ πάσῃ πολιορκίᾳ μάλιστα
ἐς τετρακοσίους.

5 Τοῖς δὲ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους καταφυ-
γοῦσιν (ἦσαν δὲ αὐτῶν τε τῶν Τυρίων οἱ μάλιστα
ἐν τέλει καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀζέμιλκος καὶ Καρχη-
δονίων τινὲς θεωροὶ ἐς τιμὴν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους
κατὰ δή τινα νόμον παλαιὸν εἰς τὴν μητρόπολιν
ἀφικόμενοι) τούτοις ξύμπασιν ἄδειαν δίδωσιν
Ἀλέξανδρος· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἠνδραπόδισε, καὶ
ἐπράθησαν Τυρίων τε καὶ τῶν ξένων ὅσοι ἐγκατ-
6 ελήφθησαν, μάλιστα εἰς τρισμυρίους. Ἀλέ-
ξανδρος δὲ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἔθυσέ τε καὶ πομπὴν
ἔστειλε σὺν τῇ δυνάμει ὡπλισμένῃ· καὶ αἱ νῆες
ξυνεπόμπευσαν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνι-
κὸν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ λαμπάδα ἐποίησε· καὶ τὴν
μηχανὴν ᾗ τὸ τεῖχος κατεσείσθη ἀνέθηκεν ἐς
τὸν νεών· καὶ τὴν ναῦν τὴν Τυρίαν τὴν ἱερὰν
τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, ἥντινα ἐν τῷ ἐπίπλῳ ἔλαβε,
καὶ ταύτην τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἀνέθηκε καὶ ἐπίγραμμα
ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ, ἢ αὐτὸς ποιήσας ἢ ὅτου δὴ ἄλλου
ποιήσαντος, οὐκ ἄξιον μνήμης τὸ ἐπίγραμμα·
διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸ ἀναγράψαι ἀπηξίωσα.
Τύρος μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἑάλω ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀνικήτου
Ἀθήνησι μηνὸς Ἑκατομβαιῶνος.

thing, enraged at the length of the siege, and also because the Tyrians having captured some of their men sailing from Sidon had dragged them up on to the wall, so that the Greek camp might see them, and slew them and cast them into the sea. Eight thousand Tyrians fell; of the Macedonians, in this actual attack, Admetus, the first to mount on the wall, after proving himself a brave man, and with him twenty of the guards; in the entire siege the losses were about four hundred.

As for those who fled to the temple of Heracles—these were the more important Tyrians, King Azemilcus, and some Carthaginian visitors, come to their mother-city to pay honour to Heracles, according to some ancient custom—to all these Alexander granted complete pardon; the rest he sold into slavery; there were sold, what with Tyrians and foreigners captured at Tyre, some 30,000. Alexander sacrificed to Heracles and held a procession in his honour, with his whole army under arms; there was a naval review also in honour of Heracles, and Alexander held games in the Temple enclosure and a torch-race; the engine which battered the wall he dedicated in the temple; and the Tyrian sacred ship, consecrated to Heracles, which he captured in the attack, he hallowed to Heracles with an inscription, either of his own composition or of somone else's not worth recording; that is why I did not trouble to copy it. Tyre then was captured, in the archonship at Athens of Anicetus in the month Hecatombaeon.

XXV. Ἔτι δὲ ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τῆς Τύρου
ξυνεχομένου Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀφίκοντο παρὰ Δαρείου
πρέσβεις ὡς αὐτόν, ἀπαγγέλλοντες μύρια μὲν
τάλαντα ὑπὲρ τῆς μητρός τε καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς
καὶ τῶν παίδων δοῦναι ἐθέλειν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
Δαρεῖον· τὴν δὲ χώραν πᾶσαν τὴν ἐντὸς
Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ ἔστε ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τὴν
Ἑλληνικὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου εἶναι· γήμαντα δὲ τὴν
Δαρείου παῖδα Ἀλέξανδρον φίλον τε εἶναι
2 Δαρείῳ καὶ ξύμμαχον. Καὶ τούτων ἐν τῷ
ξυλλόγῳ τῶν ἑταίρων ἀπαγγελθέντων, Παρ-
μενίωνα μὲν λέγουσιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ εἰπεῖν, ὅτι
αὐτὸς ἂν Ἀλέξανδρος ὢν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἠγάπησε
καταλύσας τὸν πόλεμον μηκέτι πρόσω κινδυ-
νεύειν· Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ Παρμενίωνι ἀποκρί-
νασθαι, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἄν, εἴπερ Παρμενίων ἦν,
οὕτως ἔπραξεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρός ἐστιν,
ἀποκρινεῖσθαι Δαρείῳ ἅπερ δὴ καὶ ἀπεκρίνατο.
3 Ἔφη γὰρ οὔτε χρημάτων δεῖσθαι παρὰ Δαρείου
οὔτε τῆς χώρας λαβεῖν ἀντὶ τῆς πάσης τὸ
μέρος· εἶναι γὰρ τά τε χρήματα καὶ τὴν χώραν
αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν· γῆμαί τε ἂν ἐθέλῃ τὴν Δαρείου
παῖδα, γῆμαι ἂν καὶ οὐ διδόντος Δαρείου· ἐκέ-
λευέ τε αὐτὸν ἥκειν, εἴ τι εὑρέσθαι ἐθέλοι
φιλάνθρωπον παρ' αὐτοῦ. Ταῦτα ὡς ἤκουσε
Δαρεῖος, τὰς μὲν ξυμβάσεις ἀπέγνω τὰς πρὸς
Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐν παρασκευῇ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου
αὖθις ἦν.

4 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἔγνω ποιεῖσθαι
τὸν στόλον. Καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τῆς
Παλαιστίνης καλουμένης Συρίας προσκεχωρη-
κότα ἤδη· εὐνοῦχος δέ τις, ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Βάτις,

XXV. While Alexander was still busied with the siege, envoys from Dareius came to him offering, from Dareius to Alexander, 10,000 talents for his mother, wife, and children; with the proposal that all the country within the Euphrates to the Greek sea should be Alexander's; that Alexander should marry Dareius' daughter and be his friend and ally. On these suggestions being read in the staff council, Parmenio (so we are told) affirmed that were he Alexander he would close with these terms and stop the war without further risks; then Alexander answered Parmenio that he would indeed have done this were he Parmenio, but being Alexander he would reply to Dareius in the words he actually used; he needed no money from Dareius, nor to receive a part of the country in place of the whole; for all the country and all the treasures were already his; if he chose to marry Dareius' daughter, he would marry her, even if Dareius did not give her; and Dareius, if he desired friendship at his hands, must come to him. When Dareius received this reply he cancelled all proposals to Alexander and began to prepare again for war.

Alexander now determined to make his expedition to Egypt. The rest of Syrian Palestine (as it is called) had already come over to him, but a certain

κρατῶν τῆς Γαζαίων πόλεως, οὐ προσεῖχεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἀλλὰ Ἄραβάς τε μισθωτοὺς ἐπαγόμενος καὶ σῖτον ἐκ πολλοῦ παρεσκευακὼς διαρκῆ ἐς χρόνιον πολιορκίαν καὶ τῷ χωρίῳ πιστεύων, μήποτε ἂν βίᾳ ἁλῶναι, ἔγνω μὴ δέχεσθαι τῇ πόλει Ἀλέξανδρον.

XXVI. Ἀπέχει δὲ ἡ Γάζα τῆς μὲν θαλάσσης εἴκοσι μάλιστα σταδίους, καὶ ἔστι ψαμμώδης καὶ βαθεῖα ἐς αὐτὴν ἡ ἄνοδος καὶ ἡ θάλασσα ἡ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τεναγώδης πᾶσα. Μεγάλη δὲ πόλις ἡ Γάζα ἦν καὶ ἐπὶ χώματος ὑψηλοῦ ᾤκιστο καὶ τεῖχος περιεβέβλητο αὐτῇ ὀχυρόν. Ἐσχάτη δὲ ᾠκεῖτο ὡς ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἐκ Φοινίκης ἰόντι ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς ἐρήμου.

2 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ᾗ μάλιστα ἐπίμαχον αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ μηχανὰς συμπηγνύναι ἐκέλευσεν. Οἱ δὲ μηχανοποιοὶ γνώμην ἀπεδείκνυντο ἄπορον εἶναι βίᾳ ἑλεῖν
3 τὸ τεῖχος διὰ ὕψος τοῦ χώματος. Ἀλλὰ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐδόκει αἱρετέον εἶναι ὅσῳ ἀπορώτερον· ἐκπλήξειν γὰρ τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ ἔργον τῷ παραλόγῳ ἐπὶ μέγα, καὶ τὸ μὴ ἑλεῖν αἰσχρὸν εἶναί οἱ λεγόμενον ἔς τε τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ ἐς Δαρεῖον. Ἐδόκει δὴ χῶμα ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς πόλεως χωννύναι, ὡς ἐξ ἴσου ἀπὸ τοῦ χωσθέντος ἐπάγεσθαι τὰς μηχανὰς τοῖς τείχεσι. Καὶ ἐχώννυτο κατὰ τὸ νότιον μάλιστα τῆς πόλεως τεῖχος, ἵνα
4 ἐπιμαχώτερα ἐφαίνετο. Ὡς δὲ ἐδόκει ἐξῆρθαι συμμέτρως τὸ χῶμα, μηχανὰς ἐπιστήσαντες οἱ Μακεδόνες ἐπῆγον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Γαζαίων. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ θύοντι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ ἐστεφανω-

eunuch, Batis, who was master of Gaza, did not join Alexander, but brought against him a force of Arab mercenaries, and having got ready some time before provision for a long siege, trusting, moreover, in the fortress, that it never could be taken by assault, decided not to admit Alexander into the city.

XXVI. Gaza is about 20 stades from the sea, and the approach is over deep sand, and the sea over against the city is broken into pools. The city of Gaza was large, and built on a lofty mound, with a strong wall built round it. It was the last town on the edge of the desert as you go from Phoenicia to Egypt.

When Alexander reached the city, he encamped the first day where the wall seemed easiest to attack, and he ordered siege engines to be made up. The engineers, however, suggested that it was hopeless to take the city by force owing to the height of the mound. Alexander thought, on the contrary, that the more impracticable it was, the more it must be taken; for the miracle of the achievement would strike terror into his enemies, while not to take it would be a blow to his prestige when noised abroad to the Greeks and Dareius. It was decided to raise a counter-mound round the city, and so bring the engines to bear on the walls, from the new mound, on the level. They built this mound chiefly against the city's southern wall, where the assault seemed most likely to succeed. And when the Macedonians thought they had built the mound of the proper height, they set up engines upon it and brought them up to the city wall. Just at this time, as Alexander was sacrificing, wearing garlands,

μένῳ τε καὶ κατάρχεσθαι μέλλοντι τοῦ πρώτου ἱερείου κατὰ νόμον, τῶν τις σαρκοφάγων ὀρνίθων ὑπερπετόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ βωμοῦ λίθον ἐμβάλλει ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν ὅντινα τοῖν ποδοῖν ἔφερε. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἤρετο Ἀρίστανδρον τὸν μάντιν ὅ τι νοοῖ ὁ οἰωνός. Ὁ δὲ ἀποκρίνεται ὅτι, Ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὴν μὲν πόλιν αἱρήσεις, αὐτῷ δέ σοι φυλακτέα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.

XXVII. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος τέως μὲν πρὸς ταῖς μηχαναῖς ἔξω βέλους αὑτὸν εἶχεν· ὡς δὲ ἐκδρομή τε ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καρτερὰ ἐγίγνετο καὶ πῦρ τε ἐπέφερον ταῖς μηχαναῖς οἱ Ἄραβες καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἀμυνομένους κάτωθεν αὐτοὶ ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου τοῦ χωρίου ἔβαλλόν τε καὶ ὤθουν κατὰ τοῦ ποιητοῦ χώματος, ἐνταῦθα ἢ ἑκὼν ἀπειθεῖ Ἀλέξανδρος τῷ μάντει ἢ ἐκπλαγεὶς ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ οὐκ ἐμνημόνευσε τῆς μαντείας, ἀλλ' ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς παρεβοήθει ἵνα
2 μάλιστα ἐπιέζοντο οἱ Μακεδόνες. Καὶ τούτους μὲν ἔσχε τοῦ μὴ οὐκ αἰσχρᾷ φυγῇ ὠσθῆναι κατὰ τοῦ χώματος, αὐτὸς δὲ βάλλεται καταπέλτῃ διὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος διαμπὰξ καὶ τοῦ θώρακος ἐς τὸν ὦμον. Ὡς δὲ ἔγνω τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸ τραῦμα ἀληθεύσαντα τὸν Ἀρίστανδρον, ἐχάρη, ὅτι καὶ τὴν πόλιν δὴ αἱρήσειν ἐδόκει Ἀριστάνδρου ἕνεκα.

3 Καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν τὸ τραῦμα ἐθεραπεύετο χαλεπῶς· ἀφικνοῦνται δ' αὐτῷ μετάπεμπτοι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης αἱ μηχαναὶ αἷς Τύρον εἷλε· καὶ χῶμα χωννύναι ἐν κύκλῳ πάντοθεν τῆς πόλεως ἐκέλευσεν, εὖρος μὲν ἐς δύο σταδίους, ὕψος δὲ ἐς
4 πόδας πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους.[1] Ὡς δὲ αἱ

[1] For διακοσίους Krüger plausibly πέντε (ε' for σ').

and just about to initiate the first victim according to the ceremonial, a carnivorous bird hovering over the altar dropped on his head a stone which it was carrying in its talons. Alexander asked Aristander the seer what this omen of the bird meant, and he answered, "O King, you will capture the city; but for to-day you must look to yourself."

XXVII. On this advice Alexander remained for a time by the engines, out of range; but on a strong sally from the city, the Arabs trying to set fire to the engines, and pelting the Macedonians, who were resisting below, from their commanding position, and even pushing them over the new mound, Alexander either disobeyed the seer's words on purpose or carried away in the action did not give them a moment's thought, but bringing on his guards helped the Macedonians where they were most hardly pressed. He did, in fact, hold them from being driven down the mound in ignominious flight; but he was hit by a shot from a catapult right through his shield and his corselet, into the shoulder. But perceiving that Aristander had been right about the wound, he was glad, since he felt that Aristander also guaranteed the capture of the city.

Alexander was not easily treated of his wound; but there arrived, sent for by sea, the engines with which he captured Tyre. He ordered a mound to be erected the whole way round the city, two stades broad, two hundred and fifty feet high. Then as

τε μηχαναὶ αὐτῷ ἐποιήθησαν καὶ ἐπαχθεῖσαι κατὰ τὸ χῶμα κατέσεισαν τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ πολύ, ὑπονόμων τε ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ ὀρυσσομένων καὶ τοῦ χοῦ ἀφανῶς ἐκφερομένου τὸ τεῖχος πολλαχῇ ἠρείπετο ὑφιζάνον κατὰ τὸ κενούμενον, τοῖς τε βέλεσιν ἐπὶ πολὺ κατεῖχον οἱ Μακεδόνες, ἀναστέλλοντες τοὺς προμαχομένους ἐκ τῶν πύργων, ἐς μὲν τρεῖς προσβολὰς οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἀποθνησκόντων τε αὐτοῖς πολλῶν καὶ τιτρωσκο-
5 μένων, ὅμως ἀντεῖχον· τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν φάλαγγα πάντοθεν προσαγαγὼν Ἀλέξανδρος τῇ μὲν ὑπορυσσόμενον τὸ τεῖχος καταβάλλει, τῇ δὲ παιόμενον ταῖς μηχαναῖς κατασείει ἐπὶ πολύ, ὡς μὴ χαλεπὴν ταῖς κλίμαξι τὴν προσβολὴν κατὰ τὰ ἐρηριμμένα ἐνδοῦναι.
6 Αἵ τε οὖν κλίμακες προσήγοντο τῷ τείχει καὶ ἔρις πολλὴ ἦν τῶν Μακεδόνων ὅσοι τι ἀρετῆς μετεποιοῦντο, ὅστις πρῶτος αἱρήσει τὸ τεῖχος· καὶ αἱρεῖ πρῶτος Νεοπτόλεμος τῶν ἑταίρων τοῦ Αἰακιδῶν γένους· ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ ἄλλαι καὶ ἄλλαι
7 τάξεις ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἀνέβαινον. Ὡς δὲ ἅπαξ παρῆλθόν τινες ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους τῶν Μακεδόνων, κατασχίσαντες ἄλλας καὶ ἄλλας πύλας, ὅσαις ἕκαστοι ἐπετύγχανον, δέχονται εἴσω τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν. Οἱ δὲ Γαζαῖοι καὶ τῆς πόλεώς σφισιν ἤδη ἐχομένης ξυνεστηκότες ὅμως ἐμάχοντο· καὶ ἀπέθανον πάντες αὐτοῦ μαχόμενοι ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐτάχθησαν· παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἐξηνδραπόδισεν αὐτῶν Ἀλέξανδρος. Τὴν πόλιν δὲ ξυνοικίσας ἐκ τῶν περιοίκων ἐχρῆτο ὅσα φρουρίῳ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον.

soon as his engines had been set up and being brought up to the mound had considerably battered the wall, tunnels were driven here and there and the earth below secretly withdrawn till the wall gave, subsiding on the gaps, while the Macedonians cleared a great space with their volleys and drove back the defenders from the towers; the defenders, nevertheless, though with many dead and wounded, held bravely out against three onslaughts. But in the fourth Alexander brought up his phalanx of Macedonians on all sides, threw down the wall, now undermined, at one place, and breached it for a great stretch in another, battered as it was with his engines, so that it was not hard to make the assault with ladders on the fallen portions. So the ladders were set against the wall, and then was much rivalry of the Macedonians, such as laid claim to valorous qualities, who would be first to mount the wall; the first proved to be Neoptolemus, one of the Companions and of the family of the Aeacidae. After him, battalion after battalion climbed up with their officers. As soon as the first few had entered into the wall, they tore down gate after gate, as they found them, and so admitted the entire army. The citizens, though their city was already in enemy hands, held together and still resisted; and they all perished there, fighting each man at his post. Their women and children Alexander sold into slavery; the city he populated with the neighbouring tribesmen and used it as a fortress town for the war.

BOOK III

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ

I. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου, ἵναπερ τὸ πρῶτον ὡρμήθη, ἐστέλλετο, καὶ ἑβδόμῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς Γάζης ἐλαύνων ἧκεν εἰς Πηλούσιον τῆς Αἰγύπτου. Ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς παρέπλει αὐτῷ ἐκ Φοινίκης ὡς ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον· καὶ καταλαμβάνει τὰς ναῦς ἐν Πηλουσίῳ ὁρμούσας.
2 Μαζάκης δὲ ὁ Πέρσης, ὃς ἦν σατράπης Αἰγύπτου ἐκ Δαρείου καθεστηκώς, τήν τε ἐν Ἰσσῷ μάχην ὅπως συνέβη πεπυσμένος καὶ Δαρεῖον ὅτι αἰσχρᾷ φυγῇ ἔφυγε, καὶ Φοινίκην τε καὶ Συρίαν καὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐχόμενα, αὐτῷ τε οὐκ οὔσης δυνάμεως Περσικῆς, ἐδέχετο ταῖς πόλεσι φιλίως καὶ τῇ χώρᾳ Ἀλέξανδρον.
3 Ὁ δὲ εἰς μὲν Πηλούσιον φυλακὴν εἰσήγαγε, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ἀναπλεῖν κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν κελεύσας ἔστε ἐπὶ Μέμφιν πόλιν, αὐτὸς ἐφ' Ἡλιουπόλεως ᾔει, ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Νεῖλον, καὶ ὅσα καθ' ὁδὸν χωρία ἐνδιδόντων τῶν ἐνοικούντων κατασχών, διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου ἀφίκετο
4 ἐς Ἡλιούπολιν. Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ διαβὰς τὸν πόρον ἧκεν ἐς Μέμφιν. Καὶ θύει ἐκεῖ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις θεοῖς καὶ τῷ Ἄπιδι καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐποίησε γυμνικόν τε καὶ μουσικόν· ἧκον δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ ἀμφὶ ταῦτα τεχνῖται ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οἱ δοκιμώτατοι. Ἐκ δὲ Μέμφιος κατέπλει κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, τούς τε ὑπασπιστὰς ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν

BOOK III

I. Alexander now set forth for Egypt—his original goal[1]—and marching from Gaza he arrived on the seventh day at Pelusium in Egypt. His fleet was coasting along with him from Phoenicia towards Egypt; and he found them already at anchor at Pelusium. Mazaces the Persian, who had been appointed satrap of Egypt by Dareius, when he learnt both the result of the battle of Issus and the shameful flight of Dareius, and also that Phoenicia, Syria, and the greater part of Arabia were in Alexander's hands, being, moreover, without any Persian force, received Alexander in a friendly way into the cities and the country. Alexander for his part brought a garrison into Pelusium, and bade the officers of his fleet sail up the river as far as Memphis; he meanwhile went towards Heliopolis, with the river Nile on his right hand; all the districts on his route he took over, by surrender of the inhabitants, and through the desert he reached Heliopolis. Thence he crossed the river and came to Memphis. There he sacrificed in especial to Apis and also to the other gods; and held a contest both athletic and literary; the most famous artists in these branches came to him there from Greece. From Memphis he sailed down-stream towards the sea, taking on board the

[1] That is, the original object of his southerly march, held up for a time at Tyre.

λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ
τῶν ἱππέων τὴν βασιλικὴν ἴλην τὴν τῶν ἑταίρων.
5 Ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Κάνωβον καὶ κατὰ τὴν λίμνην τὴν
Μαρίαν περιπλεύσας ἀποβαίνει ὅπου νῦν Ἀλε-
ξάνδρεια πόλις ᾤκισται, Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπώνυμος.
Καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ὁ χῶρος κάλλιστος κτίσαι ἐν
αὐτῷ πόλιν καὶ γενέσθαι ἂν εὐδαίμονα τὴν πόλιν.
Πόθος οὖν λαμβάνει αὐτὸν τοῦ ἔργου, καὶ αὐτὸς
τὰ σημεῖα τῇ πόλει ἔθηκεν, ἵνα τε ἀγορὰν ἐν
αὐτῇ δείμασθαι ἔδει καὶ ἱερὰ ὅσα καὶ θεῶν
ὥντινων, τῶν μὲν Ἑλληνικῶν, Ἴσιδος δὲ Αἰγυπ-
τίας, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ᾗ περιβεβλῆσθαι. Καὶ ἐπὶ
τούτοις ἐθύετο, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ ἐφαίνετο.

II. Λέγεται δέ τις καὶ τοιόσδε λόγος, οὐκ
ἄπιστος ἔμοιγε· ἐθέλειν μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον κατα-
λιπεῖν αὐτὸν τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ τειχισμοῦ τοῖς
τέκτοσιν, οὐκ εἶναι δὲ ὅτῳ τὴν γῆν ἐπιγράψουσι·
τῶν δὴ τεκτόνων τινὰ ἐπιφρασθέντα, ὅσα ἐν
τεύχεσιν ἄλφιτα οἱ στρατιῶται ἐκόμιζον ξυναγα-
γόντα ἐπιβάλλειν τῇ γῇ ἵναπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς
ὑφηγεῖτο, καὶ τὸν κύκλον οὕτω περιγραφῆναι τοῦ
2 περιτειχισμοῦ ὅντινα τῇ πόλει ἐποίει. Τοῦτο δὲ
ἐπιλεξαμένους τοὺς μάντεις καὶ μάλιστα δὴ
Ἀρίστανδρον τὸν Τελμισσέα, ὃς δὴ πολλὰ μὲν
καὶ ἄλλα ἀληθεῦσαι ἐλέγετο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, φάναι
εὐδαίμονα ἔσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τῶν
ἐκ γῆς καρπῶν εἵνεκα.

3 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Ἡγέλοχος κατέπλευσεν εἰς
Αἴγυπτον, καὶ ἀπαγγέλλει Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Τενεδίους
τε ἀποστάντας Περσῶν σφίσι προσθέσθαι (καὶ
γὰρ καὶ ἄκοντας Πέρσαις προσχωρῆσαι) καὶ

ships his guards, the archers, and the Agrianes, and of the cavalry the royal squadron of the Companions. When he had reached Canobus and sailed round Lake Mareotis he came ashore just where is now the city of Alexandria, named after Alexander. It struck him that the position was admirable for founding a city there and that such a city was bound to be prosperous. He was therefore filled with eagerness to get to work, and himself marked out the ground plan of the city, both where the market-place was to be laid out, how many temples were to be built, and in honour of what gods, some of these Greek, and Isis, the Egyptian; and where the wall was to be built round it. In view of all this he offered sacrifice, and the sacrifice proved favourable.

II. A story of the following sort is told, and I see no reason to disbelieve it; Alexander desired to leave behind for the builders the ground-plan of the fortification, but had nothing wherewith to mark the ground. One of the builders, however, had the happy thought of collecting the meal which the soldiers carried in vessels, and of dropping it upon the ground wherever the king led the way. Thus the circle of the surrounding wall which he proposed to make for the city was marked out. The soothsayers, and among them especially Aristander the Telmissian, who was reported to have made many other correct prophecies to Alexander, reflecting upon this, said that the city would be prosperous in all respects, but especially in the fruits of the earth.

Meanwhile Hegelochus arrived by sea in Egypt and reported to Alexander that Tenedos had revolted from the Persians and joined the Macedonians, in fact they had joined the Persians against their will;

Χίων ὅτι δὴ ὁ δῆμος ἐπηγάγετο σφᾶς βίᾳ τῶν
κατεχόντων τὴν πόλιν, οὓς Αὐτοφραδάτης τε καὶ
4 Φαρνάβαζος ἐγκατέστησαν· ἁλῶναι δὲ αὐτόθι
καὶ Φαρνάβαζον ἐγκαταληφθέντα καὶ Ἀριστό-
νικον Μηθυμναῖον τὸν τύραννον ἐσπλεύσαντα ἐς
τὸν λιμένα τῆς Χίου ξὺν ἡμιολίαις λῃστρικαῖς
πέντε, ὑπὸ σφῶν ἐχόμενον τὸν λιμένα οὐ γνόντα,
ἀλλ' ἐξαπατηθέντα γὰρ πρὸς τῶν τὰ κλεῖθρα
ἐχόντων τοῦ λιμένος, ὅτι τὸ Φαρναβάζου ἄρα
5 ναυτικὸν ὁρμεῖ ἐν αὐτῷ· καὶ τοὺς μὲν λῃστὰς
πάντας αὐτοῦ κατακοπῆναι πρὸς σφῶν· Ἀριστό-
νικον δὲ ἦγε παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Ἀπολλωνίδην
τὸν Χῖον καὶ Φισινὸν καὶ Μεγαρέα καὶ τοὺς
ἄλλους ὅσοι τῆς τε ἀποστάσεως τῆς Χίων
ξυνεπελάβοντο καὶ ἐν τῷ τότε τὰ πράγματα τῆς
6 νήσου βίᾳ εἶχον· καὶ Μιτυλήνην δὲ Χάρητα
ἔχοντα ὅτι ἀφείλετο καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς ἐν
Λέσβῳ πόλεις καὶ αὐτὰς ὁμολογίᾳ προσηγάγετο,
Ἀμφοτερὸν δὲ σὺν ἑξήκοντα ναυσὶν ἐπὶ Κῶ
ἔπεμψεν· ἐπικαλεῖσθαι γὰρ σφᾶς τοὺς Κῴους·
καὶ αὐτὸς καταπλεύσας ὅτι εὗρε τὴν Κῶ πρὸς
7 Ἀμφοτεροῦ ἤδη ἐχομένην· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους
ὅσοι αἰχμάλωτοι ἦγεν Ἡγέλοχος, Φαρνάβαζος
δὲ ἀπέδρα ἐν Κῷ λαθὼν τοὺς φύλακας. Ἀλέ-
ξανδρος δὲ τοὺς τυράννους μὲν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν
πόλεων ἐς τὰς πόλεις πέμπει, χρήσασθαι ὅπως
ἐθέλοιεν· τοὺς δὲ ἀμφ' Ἀπολλωνίδην τοὺς Χίους
ἐς Ἐλεφαντίνην πόλιν Αἰγυπτίαν ξὺν φυλακῇ
ἀκριβεῖ ἔπεμψεν.

III. Ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ πόθος λαμβάνει αὐτὸν
ἐλθεῖν παρ' Ἄμμωνα ἐς Λιβύην, τὸ μέν τι τῷ
θεῷ χρησόμενον, ὅτι ἀτρεκὲς ἐλέγετο εἶναι ⟨τὸ

the people of Chios too had invited him and his men into the city, despite those whom Autophradates and Pharnabazus had settled in the city, and who now were in possession of it; moreover, that Pharnabazus had been captured there, and with him Aristonicus the despot of Methymna who had sailed into the harbour of Chios with five pirate ships, not having learnt that the Macedonians had possession of the harbour; he had also been misled by those who guarded the entrance of the harbour, who asserted that Pharnabazus' fleet was in the roadstead there; the pirates indeed had all been cut down by his own men, but Aristonicus he brought to Alexander, with Apollonides the Chian and Phisinus and Megareus, and all the rest who had assisted the revolt of the Chians, and, at the time being, were tyrannically in command of the government of the island. He reported also that he had captured Mitylene from Chares who was holding it, and had received in surrender the other cities in Lesbos also. Amphoterus with sixty ships he had sent to Cos; for the people of Cos asked them to come; and he had sailed himself to Cos and found it already in the possession of Amphoterus. All the remaining captives Hegelochus brought in, except Pharnabazus, who had slipped his guards in Cos and escaped. Alexander sent the despots who came from the cities to their cities, so that the citizens might take such justice upon them as they pleased; but those with Apollonides, the Chians, he sent to the city of Elephantine of Egypt, with a strong guard.

III. After this an overmastering desire came upon Alexander to pay a visit to Ammon in Libya; partly to consult the oracle, since the oracle of Ammon was

μαντεῖον τοῦ Ἄμμωνος καὶ χρήσασθαι αὐτῷ Περσέα τε καὶ Ἡρακλέα, τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Γοργόνα ὅτε πρὸς Πολυδέκτου ἐστέλλετο, τὸν δὲ ὅτε παρ' Ἀνταῖον ᾔει εἰς Λιβύην καὶ παρὰ
2 Βούσιριν εἰς Αἴγυπτον. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ φιλοτιμία ἦν πρὸς Περσέα καὶ Ἡρακλέα, ἀπὸ γένους τε ὄντι τοῦ ἀμφοῖν καί τι καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς γενέσεως τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἐς Ἄμμωνα ἀνέφερε, καθάπερ οἱ μῦθοι τὴν Ἡρακλέους τε καὶ Περσέως ἐς Δία. Καὶ οὖν παρ' Ἄμμωνα ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ ἐστέλλετο, ὡς καὶ τὰ αὑτοῦ ἀτρεκέστερον εἰσόμενος ἢ φήσων γε ἐγνωκέναι.

3 Μέχρι μὲν δὴ Παραιτονίου παρὰ θάλασσαν ᾔει δι' ἐρήμου, οὐ μέντοι δι' ἀνύδρου τῆς χώρας, σταδίους ἐς χιλίους καὶ ἑξακοσίους, ὡς λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν ἐτράπετο, ἵνα τὸ μαντεῖον ἦν τοῦ Ἄμμωνος. Ἔστι δὲ ἐρήμη τε ἡ ὁδὸς καὶ ψάμμος ἡ πολλὴ
4 αὐτῆς καὶ ἄνυδρος. Ὕδωρ δὲ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πολὺ ἐγένετο, καὶ τοῦτο ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἀνηνέχθη. Ἀνηνέχθη δὲ ἐς τὸ θεῖον καὶ τόδε· ἄνεμος νότος ἐπὰν πνεύσῃ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χώρῳ, τῆς ψάμμου ἐπιφορεῖ κατὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐπὶ μέγα, καὶ ἀφανίζεται τῆς ὁδοῦ τὰ σημεῖα οὐδὲ ἔστιν εἰδέναι ἵνα χρὴ πορεύεσθαι καθάπερ ἐν πελάγει τῇ ψάμμῳ, ὅτι σημεῖα οὐκ ἔστι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν οὔτε που ὄρος οὔτε δένδρον οὔτε γήλοφοι βέβαιοι ἀνεστηκότες, οἷστισιν οἱ ὁδῖται τεκμαίροιντο ἂν τὴν πορείαν, καθάπερ οἱ ναῦται τοῖς ἄστροις· ἀλλὰ ἐπλανᾶτο γὰρ ἡ στρατιὰ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ
5 οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀμφίβολοι ἦσαν. Πτολεμαῖος μὲν δὴ ὁ Λάγου λέγει δράκοντας δύο ἰέναι

reputed to be infallible, and Perseus and Heracles were both said to have consulted it: Perseus when he was sent by Polydectes to destroy the Gorgon, and Heracles when he was journeying into Libya to find Antaeus, and into Egypt to find Busiris. Then, besides, Alexander felt a kind of rivalry with Perseus and Heracles, being descended from them both; nay, he also traced his descent in part from Ammon, just as the legends traced the descent of Heracles and Perseus from Zeus. In any case he set out for Ammon with this idea, hoping to learn about himself more accurately, or at least to say he had so learnt.

As far as Paraetonium he advanced along the coast through country which though desert is not wholly waterless, a distance of sixteen hundred stades, as Aristobulus tells us. Thence he turned into the interior, where the oracle of Ammon was. The way thither is desert; most of it is sand, and waterless. Alexander, however, had plenty of rain, and this too was attributed to the divine influence. This also was attributed to divine power; whenever the south wind blows in that country, it makes a great heap of sand upon the route and obscures the marks of the road, and one cannot get one's bearings in the sand any more than at sea; since there are no marks along the route nor any mountain anywhere nor tree nor solid hillocks standing up, by which the wayfarers might get some inkling of their proper course, as sailors do from the stars; the fact was, indeed, that Alexander's army fairly went astray, and the guides were in doubt as to the route. Now Ptolemaeus son of Lagos says that two serpents

πρὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος φωνὴν ἱέντας, καὶ τούτοις Ἀλέξανδρον κελεῦσαι ἕπεσθαι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας πιστεύσαντας τῷ θείῳ· τοὺς δὲ ἡγήσασθαι τὴν ὁδὸν τήν τε ἐς τὸ μαντεῖον καὶ ὀπίσω αὖθις·
6 Ἀριστόβουλος δέ, καὶ ὁ πλείων λόγος ταύτῃ κατέχει, κόρακας δύο προπετομένους πρὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς, τούτους γενέσθαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας. Καὶ ὅτι μὲν θεῖόν τι ξυνεπέλαβεν αὐτῷ ἔχω ἰσχυρίσασθαι, ὅτι καὶ τὸ εἰκὸς ταύτῃ ἔχει· τὸ δὲ ἀτρεκὲς τοῦ λόγου ἀφείλοντο οἱ ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐξηγησάμενοι.

IV. Ὁ δὲ χῶρος ἵναπερ τοῦ Ἄμμωνος τὸ ἱερόν ἐστι, τὰ μὲν κύκλῳ πάντα ἔρημα καὶ ψάμμον τὸ πᾶν ἔχει καὶ ἄνυδρον· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν μέσῳ ὀλίγος ὢν (ὅσον γὰρ πλεῖστον αὐτοῦ ἐς πλάτος διέχει, ἐς τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα σταδίους ἔρχεται) κατάπλεώς ἐστιν ἡμέρων δένδρων, ἐλαιῶν καὶ φοινίκων,
2 καὶ ἔνδροσος μόνος τῶν πέριξ. Καὶ πηγὴ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀνίσχει οὐδέν τι ἐοικυῖα ταῖς πηγαῖς ὅσαι ἄλλαι ἐκ γῆς ἀνίσχουσιν. Ἐν μὲν γὰρ μεσημβρίᾳ ψυχρὸν τὸ ὕδωρ γευσαμένῳ τε καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἁψαμένῳ οἷον ψυχρότατον· ἐγκλίναντος δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου ἐς ἑσπέραν θερμότερον, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπέρας ἔτι θερμότερον ἔστε ἐπὶ μέσας νύκτας, μέσων δὲ νυκτῶν ἑαυτοῦ θερμότατον· ἀπὸ δὲ μέσων νυκτῶν ψύχεται ἐν τάξει, καὶ ἕωθεν ψυχρὸν ἤδη ἐστί, ψυχρότατον δὲ μεσημβρίας· καὶ τοῦτο δὴ ἀμείβει ἐν τάξει ἐπὶ ἑκάστῃ ἡμέρᾳ.
3 Γίγνονται δὲ καὶ ἅλες αὐτόματοι ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ τούτῳ ὀρυκτοί. Καὶ τούτων ἔστιν οὓς ἐς Αἴγυπτον φέρουσι τῶν ἱερέων τινὲς τοῦ Ἄμμωνος. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου στέλλονται, ἐς

preceded the army uttering speech, and Alexander bade his leaders follow them and trust the divine guidance; and the serpents did actually serve as guides for the route to the oracle and back again. But Aristobulus, with the more common version, has it as follows: two crows flying in advance of the army acted as guides to Alexander. That some divine help was given him I can confidently assert, because probability also inclines this way; but the story has been deprived of exactitude by the way in which various writers about Alexander have given various accounts.

IV. The district in which the Temple of Ammon lies is desert all round, covered with sand, and without water. But the site, in the centre, is small (its broadest stretch only comes to about forty stades) and is full of garden trees, olives and palms, and it alone, of all the surrounding country, catches the dew. A spring, too, rises from it, not at all like ordinary springs which rise from the ground. For at midday the water is cold to the taste and even more to the touch, it is as cold as can be, then when the sun sinks towards evening it is warmer, and from evening on it grows warmer and warmer till midnight, and at midnight it is at its warmest; but after midnight it cools off in turn, and from dawn onwards it is already cold, but at midday coldest. This goes on in due rotation day by day. Then there are natural salts in this district, to be obtained by digging; some of these salts are taken by priests of Ammon to Egypt. For whenever they are going towards Egypt, they pack the salt into baskets woven

κοιτίδας πλεκτὰς ἐκ φοίνικος ἐσβαλόντες δῶρον
4 τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀποφέρουσιν ἤ εἴ τῳ ἄλλῳ. Ἔστι δὲ μακρός τε ὁ χόνδρος καὶ ἤδη τινὲς αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τρεῖς δακτύλους, καὶ καθαρὸς ὥσπερ κρύσταλλος· καὶ τούτῳ ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις χρῶνται, ὡς καθαρωτέρῳ τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἁλῶν, Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τοῦ θείου οὐκ
5 ἀμελῶς ἔχουσιν. Ἐνταῦθα Ἀλέξανδρος τόν τε χῶρον ἐθαύμασε καὶ τῷ θεῷ ἐχρήσατο· καὶ ἀκούσας ὅσα αὐτῷ πρὸς θυμοῦ ἦν, ὡς ἔλεγεν, ἀνέζευξεν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου, ὡς μὲν Ἀριστόβουλος λέγει, τὴν αὐτὴν ὀπίσω ὁδόν, ὡς δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου, ἄλλην εὐθεῖαν ὡς ἐπὶ Μέμφιν.

V. Εἰς Μέμφιν δὲ αὐτῷ πρεσβεῖαί τε πολλαὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἧκον, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅντινα ἀτυχήσαντα ὧν ἐδεῖτο ἀπέπεμψε· καὶ στρατιὰ παραγίγνεται παρὰ μὲν Ἀντιπάτρου μισθοφόροι Ἕλληνες ἐς τετρακοσίους, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Μενίδας ὁ Ἡγησάνδρου, ἐκ Θρᾴκης δὲ ἱππεῖς ἐς πεντακοσίους, ὧν ἦρχεν Ἀσκληπιόδωρος ὁ Εὐνίκου.
2 Ἐνταῦθα θύει τῷ Διὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ πομπεύει ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ ἀγῶνα ποιεῖ γυμνικὸν καὶ μουσικόν. Καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐνταῦθα ἐκόσμησε· δύο μὲν νομάρχας Αἰγύπτου κατέστησεν Αἰγυπτίους, Δολόασπιν καὶ Πέτισιν, καὶ τούτοις διένειμε τὴν χώραν τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν· Πετίσιος δὲ ἀπειπαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν
3 Δολόασπις ἐνδέχεται πᾶσαν. Φρουράρχους δὲ τῶν ἑταίρων ἐν Μέμφει μὲν Πανταλέοντα κατέστησε τὸν Πυδναῖον, ἐν Πηλουσίῳ δὲ Πολέμωνα τὸν Μεγακλέους, Πελλαῖον· τῶν ξένων δὲ ἄρχειν Λυκίδαν Αἰτωλόν, γραμματέα δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ξένων

of palm leaves and take them as a present to the king or to someone else. The grains of this salt are large, some of them have been known to be more than three fingers' breadth; and it is as clear as crystal. Both Egyptians, and others who are particular about religious observance, use this salt in their sacrifices, as being purer than the sea-salts. There Alexander surveyed the site with wonder, and also made his enquiry of the god; he received the answer his soul desired, as he said, and turned back towards Egypt, as Aristobulus says, going the same way back, but as Ptolemaeus son of Lagos says, another way direct to Memphis.

V. There came to him at Memphis a good many embassies from Greece, and he sent no one away disappointed of his request; and also a force from Antipater joined him, Greek mercenaries four hundred strong, under the command of Menidas son of Hegesandros; from Thrace came cavalry, about five hundred, under command of Asclepiodorus son of Eunicus. Thereupon Alexander sacrificed to Zeus the King and held a procession with his force under arms and held an athletic and literary contest. He also put Egyptian affairs in order; he appointed two Egyptian governors of provinces, Doloaspis and Petisis, dividing the whole country of Egypt between them; Petisis, however, declined the office, and Doloaspis took it all over. As garrison commandants at Memphis he appointed Pantaleon of Pydna of the territorial troops, and in Pelusium, Polemon, son of Megacles, of Pella; to command the mercenaries, Lycidas, an Aetolian, and as clerk in charge of the

Εὔγνωστον τὸν Ξενοφάντου τῶν ἑταίρων· ἐπι-
σκόπους δὲ αὐτῶν Αἰσχύλον τε καὶ Ἔφιππον τὸν
4 Χαλκιδέα. Λιβύης δὲ τῆς προσχώρου ἄρχειν
δίδωσιν Ἀπολλώνιον Χαρίνου, Ἀραβίας δὲ τῆς
πρὸς Ἡρώων πόλει Κλεομένην τὸν ἐκ Ναυκρά-
τιος· καὶ τούτῳ παρηγγέλλετο τοὺς μὲν νομάρχας
ἐᾶν ἄρχειν τῶν νομῶν τῶν κατὰ σφᾶς καθάπερ
ἐκ παλαιοῦ καθειστήκει, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐκλέγειν παρ᾽
αὐτῶν τοὺς φόρους· οἱ δὲ ἀποφέρειν αὐτῷ ἐτάχ-
5 θησαν. Στρατηγοὺς δὲ τῇ στρατιᾷ κατέστησεν
ἥντινα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ὑπελείπετο Πευκέσταν τε τὸν
Μακαρτάτου καὶ Βάλακρον τὸν Ἀμύντου, ναύαρ-
χον δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν Πολέμωνα τὸν Θηραμένους·
σωματοφύλακα δὲ ἀντὶ Ἀρρύβα τὸν Λεόννατον τὸν
Ὀνάσου[1] ἔταξεν· Ἀρρύβας γὰρ νόσῳ ἀπέθανεν.
6 Ἀπέθανε δὲ καὶ Ἀντίοχος ὁ ἄρχων τῶν τοξοτῶν,
καὶ ἀντὶ τούτου ἄρχειν ἐπέστησε τοῖς τοξόταις
Ὀμβρίωνα Κρῆτα. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ξυμμάχους
τοὺς πεζούς, ὧν Βάλακρος ἡγεῖτο, ἐπεὶ Βάλακρος
ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ὑπελείπετο, Κάλανον κατέστησεν
7 ἡγεμόνα. Κατανεῖμαι δὲ λέγεται ἐς πολλοὺς
τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Αἰγύπτου, τήν τε φύσιν τῆς
χώρας θαυμάσας καὶ τὴν ὀχυρότητα, ὅτι οὐκ
ἀσφαλές οἱ ἐφαίνετο ἑνὶ ἐπιτρέψαι ἄρχειν
Αἰγύπτου πάσης. Καὶ Ῥωμαῖοί μοι δοκοῦσι
παρ᾽ Ἀλεξάνδρου μαθόντες ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν
Αἴγυπτον καὶ μηδένα τῶν ἀπὸ βουλῆς ἐπὶ τῷδε
ἐκπέμπειν ὕπαρχον Αἰγύπτου, ἀλλὰ τῶν εἰς τοὺς
ἱππέας σφίσι ξυντελούντων.

VI. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἅμα τῷ ἦρι ὑποφαίνοντι
ἐκ Μέμφιος ᾔει ἐπὶ Φοινίκης· καὶ ἐγεφυρώθη

[1] Ὀνάσου, Krüger gives Ἀντέου, comparing VI. 28. 4.

mercenaries Eugnostos son of Xenophantes, one of the territorials, and as their overseers, Aeschylus and Ephippus of Chalcis. As governor of the neighbouring country of Libya he appointed Apollonius son of Charinus; and of Arabia about Heroöpolis, Cleomenes from Naucratis. He instructed him to permit the district governors to govern their own districts as had been their way all along, but that he was to exact from them the tributes, while they were ordered to pay these to him. As generals of the army which he was leaving behind in Egypt he appointed Peucestas son of Macartatus and Balacrus son of Amyntas, and as admiral of his fleet, Polemon son of Theramenes; and as bodyguard in place of Arrhybas he appointed Leonnatus son of Onasus; Arrhybas having died of disease. Antiochus also the commander of the archers had died, and in his place Alexander appointed as commander of the archers Ombrion a Cretan. Over the allied infantry, of which Balacrus had been commander, he set Calanus as general, since Balacrus was being left behind in Egypt. It is stated that he divided the government of Egypt between many officers, both from his surprise at the nature of the country and its strength, since it did not appear to him safe to entrust the command of all Egypt to one man. The Romans, too, I think, learnt a lesson from Alexander and keep Egypt under guard, and never send anyone from the Senate as proconsul of Egypt, but only those who are enrolled among them as Knights.

VI. When Spring began to show itself, Alexander started from Memphis in the direction of Phoenicia;

αὐτῷ ὅ τε κατὰ Μέμφιν πόρος τοῦ Νείλου καὶ αἱ διώρυχες αὐτοῦ πᾶσαι. Ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετο ἐς Τύρον, καταλαμβάνει ἐνταῦθα ἧκον αὐτῷ ἤδη καὶ τὸ ναυτικόν. Ἐν Τύρῳ δὲ αὖθις θύει τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ ἀγῶνα ποιεῖ γυμνικόν τε καὶ μου-
2 σικόν. Ἐνταῦθα ἀφικνεῖται παρ' αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἡ Πάραλος πρέσβεις ἄγουσα Διόφαντον καὶ Ἀχιλλέα· ξυνεπρέσβευον δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ Πάραλοι ξύμπαντες. Καὶ οὗτοι τῶν τε ἄλλων ἔτυχον ὧν ἕνεκα ἐστάλησαν καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀφῆκεν Ἀθηναίοις ὅσοι ἐπὶ Γρανικῷ Ἀθηναίων
3 ἑάλωσαν. Τὰ δὲ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ὅτι αὐτῷ νενεωτερίσθαι ἀπήγγελτο, Ἀμφοτερὸν πέμπει βοηθεῖν Πελοποννησίων ὅσοι ἔς τε τὸν Περσικὸν πόλεμον βέβαιοι ἦσαν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων οὐ κατήκουον. Φοίνιξι δὲ καὶ Κυπρίοις προσετάχθη ἑκατὸν ναῦς ἄλλας πρὸς αἷς ἔχοντα Ἀμφοτερὸν ἔπεμπε στέλλειν ἐπὶ Πελοποννήσου.

4 Αὐτὸς δὲ ἤδη ἄνω ὡρμᾶτο ὡς ἐπὶ Θάψακόν τε καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν, ἐν Φοινίκῃ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν φόρων τῇ ξυλλογῇ καταστήσας Κοίρανον Βεροιαῖον, Φιλόξενον δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας τὰ ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ταύρου ἐκλέγειν. Τῶν ξὺν αὐτῷ δὲ χρημάτων τὴν φυλακὴν ἀντὶ τούτων ἐπέτρεψεν Ἁρπάλῳ τῷ Μαχάτα ἄρτι ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς ἥκοντι.
5 Ἅρπαλος γὰρ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἔφυγε, Φιλίππου ἔτι βασιλεύοντος, ὅτι πιστὸς ἦν, καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ἔφυγε καὶ Νέαρχος ὁ Ἀνδροτίμου καὶ Ἐρίγυιος ὁ Λαρίχου καὶ Λαομέδων ὁ τούτου ἀδελφός, ὅτι ὕποπτα ἦν Ἀλεξ-

a bridge was made for him over the River Nile at Memphis and over all its canals also. When he reached Tyre he found there his fleet already arrived to meet him. At Tyre he sacrificed a second time to Heracles and held an athletic and literary contest. There the *Paralus* from Athens met him, bringing as envoys Diophantus and Achilles; the entire crew of the *Paralus*[1] were associated with them in the embassy. These achieved all the objects of their mission, and Alexander gave up to the Athenians all the Athenian captives taken on the Granicus. Learning that things in the Peloponnesus had taken a turn towards revolt in his favour, he sent Amphoterus to help such Peloponnesians as were quite sound as regards the Persian war and were not inclined to listen to the Lacedaemonians. Orders were, besides, given to the Phoenicians and Cyprians to send to the Peloponnese a hundred ships over and above those he was despatching under command of Amphoterus.

Alexander himself was already starting inland towards Thapsacus and the River Euphrates, having set Coeranus, a Beroean, over the collection of taxes in Phoenicia, and Philoxenus to be collector in Asia, this side of the Taurus. The guardianship of such moneys as were with him he entrusted (in lieu of these officers) to Harpalus son of Machatas, just returned from exile; for this Harpalus had in the first instance been sent into exile while Philip was still on the throne, because he was loyal,[2] and Ptolemaeus son of Lagos was exiled on the same account, and Nearchus son of Androtimus and Erigyios son of Larichus and Laomedon his brother, since Alexander had various suspicions towards

[1] Being all free citizens. [2] To Alexander.

ἀνδρῷ ἐς Φίλιππον, ἐπειδὴ Εὐρυδίκην γυναῖκα
ἠγάγετο Φίλιππος, Ὀλυμπιάδα δὲ τὴν Ἀλεξ-
6 ἄνδρου μητέρα ἠτίμασε. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ
Φιλίππου κατελθόντας ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς ὅσοι δι'
αὐτὸν ἔφευγον Πτολεμαῖον μὲν σωματοφύλακα
κατέστησεν, Ἅρπαλον δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν χρημάτων,
ὅτι αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα ἐς τὰ πολέμια ἀχρεῖον ἦν,
Ἐρίγυιον δὲ ἱππάρχην τῶν ξυμμάχων, Λαομέ-
δοντα δὲ τὸν τούτου ἀδελφόν, ὅτι δίγλωσσος ἦν
ἐς τὰ βαρβαρικὰ γράμματα,[1] ἐπὶ τοῖς αἰχμα-
λώτοις βαρβάροις, Νέαρχον δὲ σατραπεύειν
Λυκίας καὶ τῆς ἐχομένης Λυκίας χώρας ἔστε
7 ἐπὶ τὸν Ταῦρον τὸ ὄρος. Ὀλίγον δὲ πρόσθεν
τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Ἰσσῷ γενομένης ἀναπεισθεὶς
πρὸς Ταυρίσκου, ἀνδρὸς κακοῦ, Ἅρπαλος φεύγει
ξὺν Ταυρίσκῳ. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ταυρίσκος παρ'
Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἠπειρώτην ἐς Ἰταλίαν σταλεὶς
ἐκεῖ ἐτελεύτησεν· Ἁρπάλῳ δὲ ἐν τῇ Μεγαρίδι
ἡ φυγὴ ἦν. Ἀλλ' Ἀλέξανδρος πείθει αὐτὸν
κατελθεῖν, πίστεις δοὺς οὐδέν οἱ μεῖον ἔσεσθαι
ἐπὶ τῇ φυγῇ· οὐδὲ ἐγένετο ἐπανελθόντι, ἀλλ'
8 ἐπὶ τῶν χρημάτων αὖθις ἐτάχθη Ἅρπαλος. Ἐς
Λυδίαν δὲ σατράπην Μένανδρον ἐκπέμπει τῶν
ἑταίρων· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ξένοις, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Μένανδρος,
Κλέαρχος αὐτῷ ἐτάχθη· ἀντὶ δὲ Ἀρίμμα σατρά-
πην Συρίας Ἀσκληπιόδωρον τὸν Εὐνίκου ἀπέ-
δειξεν, ὅτι Ἀρίμμας βλακεῦσαι ἐδόκει αὐτῷ ἐν
τῇ παρασκευῇ ἥντινα ἐτάχθη παρασκευάσαι τῇ
στρατιᾷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἄνω.

VII. Καὶ ἀφίκετο ἐς Θάψακον Ἀλέξανδρος μηνὸς Ἑκατομβαιῶνος ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν

[1] γραμματέα ἐπὶ . . . Sintenis.

Philip, because Philip had taken Eurydice to wife, and had treated with contumely Olympias the mother of Alexander. On Philip's death those who were in exile on Alexander's account returned, and of them he appointed Ptolemaeus one of the body-guards, Harpalus an officer of finance, since his bodily strength was not equal to fighting, Erigyius commander of the allied cavalry, and Laomedon his brother, since he knew, besides his own, the Persian language, officer in charge of the Persian captives; Nearchus he made satrap of Lycia and the country bordering upon Lycia as far as Mount Taurus. To return to Harpalus; not long before the battle of Issus he was led astray by Tauriscus, an evil man, and fled with Tauriscus, who made his way to Italy to Alexander of Epirus, and died in Italy; Harpalus, however, took refuge in the Megarid. Alexander, however, persuaded him to return, giving him assurances that he would not suffer at all for this flight of his; and sure enough he did not suffer, but was set again in charge of the treasure. He sent to Lydia as satrap Menandros, one of the Companions, setting Clearchus in command of the mercenaries of whom Menandros had charge. In place of Arimmas he made satrap of Syria Asclepiodorus son of Eunicus, since he considered Arimmas to have malingered in the matter of supplying such things as he had been ordered to supply for the army detailed for the march into the interior.

VII. Alexander arrived at Thapsacus in the month Hecatombaeon, when Aristophanes was

Ἀριστοφάνους· καὶ καταλαμβάνει δυοῖν γεφύραιν ἐζευγμένον τὸν πόρον. Καὶ γὰρ Μαζαῖος, ὅτῳ ἡ φυλακὴ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκ Δαρείου ἐπετέτραπτο, ἱππέας μὲν ἔχων περὶ τρισχιλίους καὶ τούτων Ἕλληνας μισθοφόρους δισχιλίους, τέως
2 μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ ἐφύλασσε, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε οὐ ξυνεχὴς ἡ γέφυρα ἦν ἐζευγμένη ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντιπέραν ὄχθην τοῖς Μακεδόσι, δειμαίνουσι μὴ ἐπίθοιντο οἱ ἀμφὶ Μαζαῖον τῇ γεφύρᾳ ἵνα ἐπαύετο· Μαζαῖος δὲ ὡς ἤκουσεν ἤδη προσάγοντα Ἀλέξανδρον, ᾤχετο φεύγων ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάσῃ· καὶ εὐθὺς ὡς ἔφυγε Μαζαῖος, ἐπεβλήθησαν αἱ γέφυραι τῇ ὄχθῃ τῇ πέραν καὶ διέβη ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ Ἀλέξανδρος.

3 Ἔνθεν δὲ ἐχώρει ἄνω, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχων τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας τὰ ὄρη, διὰ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας καλουμένης χώρας. Οὐκ εὐθεῖαν δὲ ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος ἦγεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ὁρμηθείς, ὅτι τὴν ἑτέραν ἰόντι εὐπορώτερα τὰ ξύμπαντα τῷ στρατῷ ἦν, καὶ χιλὸς τοῖς ἵπποις καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐκ τῆς χώρας λαμβάνειν, καὶ
4 τὸ καῦμα οὐχ ὡσαύτως ἐπιφλέγον. Ἁλόντες δέ τινες κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαρείου στρατεύματος κατασκοπῆς ἕνεκα ἀπεσκεδασμένων ἐξήγγειλαν, ὅτι Δαρεῖος ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ κάθηται, ἐγνωκὼς εἴργειν Ἀλέξανδρον, εἰ διαβαίνοι· καὶ εἶναι αὐτῷ στρατιὰν πολὺ μείζονα
5 ἢ ξὺν ᾗ ἐν Κιλικίᾳ ἐμάχετο. Ταῦτα Ἀλέξανδρος ἀκούσας ᾔει σπουδῇ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγρητα. Ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετο, οὔτε αὐτὸν Δαρεῖον καταλαμβάνει οὔτε τὴν φυλακὴν ἥντινα ἀπολελοίπει Δαρεῖος, ἀλλὰ διαβαίνει τὸν πόρον, χαλεπῶς μὲν δι᾽ ὀξύτητα τοῦ ῥοῦ, οὐδενὸς δὲ εἴργοντος.

archon at Athens. There he found the river bridged by two bridges. The fact was that Mazaeus, to whom Dareius had entrusted the guarding of the river, with about three thousand cavalry, and of these two thousand being Greek mercenaries, for some time kept his guard over the river, and so the bridge had not been completed by the Macedonians right up to the opposite bank, for fear that Mazaeus' troops would attack the bridge at its extremity; but Mazaeus on learning that Alexander was already marching up hurried off with all his forces. So soon as ever Mazaeus fled, the bridges were thrown right over to the far bank and Alexander crossed over with his troops.

Thence he continued inland, keeping on his left the Euphrates and the mountains of Armenia, through the country called Mesopotamia. But on leaving the Euphrates he did not lead direct on Babylon, since going by the other road he found everything more convenient for the troops, and it was easy to obtain fodder for the horses and any necessities from the country, and, what is more, the heat did not burn so strongly. Some few men captured from those who had broken off from Dareius' army for scouting, reported that Dareius was encamped on the River Tigris, determined to check Alexander should he try to cross. Dareius, they said, had a much larger army than that with which he had fought in Cilicia. On hearing this Alexander hurried off towards the Tigris, but on arriving there he found neither Dareius himself nor the guard which Dareius had left behind. Yet he crossed the river, with difficulty, it is true, on account of the swiftness of the current, but without any attempt at hindrance.

6 Ἐνταῦθα ἀναπαύει τὸν στρατόν· καὶ τῆς σελήνης τὸ πολὺ ἐκλιπὲς ἐγένετο· καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔθυε τῇ τε σελήνῃ καὶ τῷ ἡλίῳ καὶ τῇ γῇ, ὅτων τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο λόγος εἶναι κατέχει. Καὶ ἐδόκει Ἀριστάνδρῳ πρὸς Μακεδόνων καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου εἶναι τῆς σελήνης τὸ πάθημα καὶ ἐκείνου τοῦ μηνὸς ἔσεσθαι ἡ μάχη, καὶ ἐκ τῶν
7 ἱερῶν νίκην σημαίνεσθαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. Ἄρας δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ᾔει διὰ τῆς Ἀτουρίας χώρας, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μὲν ἔχων τὰ Γορδυαίων ὄρη, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν Τίγρητα. Τετάρτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς διαβάσεως οἱ πρόδρομοι αὐτῷ ἐξαγγέλλουσιν ὅτι ἱππεῖς [οὗτοι] πολέμιοι ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον φαίνονται, ὅσοι δέ, οὐκ ἔχειν εἰκάσαι. Ξυντάξας οὖν τὴν στρατιὰν προὐχώρει ὡς ἐς μάχην· καὶ ἄλλοι αὖ τῶν προδρόμων προσελάσαντες ἀκριβέστερον οὗτοι κατιδόντες ἔφασκον δοκεῖν εἶναί σφισιν οὐ πλείους ἢ χιλίους τοὺς ἱππέας.

VIII. Ἀναλαβὼν οὖν τήν τε βασιλικὴν ἴλην καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων μίαν καὶ τῶν προδρόμων τοὺς Παίονας ἤλαυνε σπουδῇ, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην στρατιὰν βάδην ἕπεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν. Οἱ δὲ τῶν Περσῶν ἱππεῖς, κατιδόντες τοὺς ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ὀξέως ἐπάγοντας, ἔφευγον ἀνὰ κράτος. Καὶ Ἀλέξ-
2 ανδρος διώκων ἐνέκειτο· καὶ οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἀπέφυγον, τοὺς δέ τινας καὶ ἀπέκτειναν, ὅσοις οἱ ἵπποι ἐν τῇ φυγῇ ἔκαμον, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ζῶντας αὐτοῖς ἵπποις ἔλαβον· καὶ παρὰ τούτων ἔμαθον ὅτι οὐ πόρρω εἴη Δαρεῖος ξὺν δυνάμει πολλῇ.
3 Βεβοηθήκεσαν γὰρ Δαρείῳ Ἰνδῶν τε ὅσοι Βακτρίοις ὅμοροι καὶ αὐτοὶ Βάκτριοι καὶ Σογδιανοί· τούτων μὲν πάντων ἡγεῖτο Βῆσσος ὁ τῆς

There he gave his army a rest; there too there was an almost total eclipse of the moon. Alexander sacrificed to the Moon, to the Sun, to the Earth; who are all said to be concerned in an eclipse. Aristandros concluded that the eclipse was favourable to the Macedonians and Alexander, and that the battle would take place during that selfsame moon, and that the sacrifices portended victory to Alexander. Then, leaving the Tigris, Alexander passed through the country of Aturia with the Gordyaean mountains on his left, and the Tigris on his right. On the fourth day after the crossing, his advance scouts reported that enemy cavalry were sighted here over the plain, but they could not guess their numbers. So drawing up his force he advanced as to battle; when other scouts rode in, and those having had a more precise view reported that they thought the cavalry to number not above a thousand.

VIII. Alexander, then, taking with him the royal squadron, one squadron of territorials, and, from among the advanced scouts, the Paeonians, moved on rapidly, ordering the rest of the army to follow at walking pace. But the Persian cavalry observing the troops with Alexander coming up rapidly, lost no time in flight. Alexander pressed on pursuing, and though the greater number of them got off, the Greeks slew some whose horses wearied in the flight, and captured others alive with their mounts. From these they learnt that Dareius was not far off with a large force.

This was because there had come to the help of Dareius such of the Indians as border upon the Bactrians, with the Bactrians and Sogdians themselves; all these were under the command of Bessus

Βακτρίων χώρας σατράπης. Εἵποντο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Σάκαι (Σκυθικὸν τοῦτο τὸ γένος τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐποικούντων Σκυθῶν), οὐχ ὑπήκοοι οὗτοι Βήσσου, ἀλλὰ κατὰ συμμαχίαν τὴν Δαρείου· ἡγεῖτο δὲ αὐτῶν Μαυάκης· αὐτοὶ δὲ ἱπποτοξόται
4 ἦσαν. Βαρσαέντης δὲ Ἀραχώτων σατράπης Ἀραχώτους τε ἦγε καὶ τοὺς ὀρείους Ἰνδοὺς καλουμένους. Σατιβαρζάνης δὲ ὁ Ἀρείων σατράπης Ἀρείους ἦγε. Παρθυαίους δὲ καὶ Ὑρκανίους καὶ Ταπούρους,[1] τοὺς πάντας ἱππέας, Φραταφέρνης ἦγεν. Μήδων δὲ ἡγεῖτο Ἀτροπάτης· ξυνετάττοντο δὲ Μήδοις Καδούσιοί τε καὶ Ἀλβανοὶ
5 καὶ Σακεσίναι. Τοὺς δὲ προσοίκους τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσσῃ Ὀκονδοβάτης καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνης καὶ Ὀρξίνης ἐκόσμουν. Οὔξιοι δὲ καὶ Σουσιανοὶ ἡγεμόνα παρείχοντο Ὀξάθρην τὸν Ἀβουλίτου. Βουπάρης δὲ Βαβυλωνίων ἡγεῖτο. Οἱ δ' ἀνάσπαστοι Κᾶρες καὶ Σιτακηνοὶ σὺν Βαβυλωνίοις ἐτετάχατο. Ἀρμενίων δὲ Ὀρόντης καὶ Μιθραύ-
6 στης ἦρχε, καὶ Ἀριάκης Καππαδόκων. Σύρους δὲ τούς τε ἐκ τῆς κοίλης καὶ ὅσοι τῆς μεταξὺ τῶν ποταμῶν Συρίας Μαζαῖος ἦγεν. Ἐλέγετο δὲ ἡ πᾶσα στρατιὰ ἡ Δαρείου ἱππεῖς μὲν ἐς τετρακισμυρίους, πεζοὶ δὲ ἐς ἑκατὸν μυριάδας, καὶ ἅρματα δρεπανηφόρα διακόσια, ἐλέφαντες δὲ οὐ πολλοί, ἀλλὰ ἐς πεντεκαίδεκα μάλιστα Ἰνδοῖς τοῖς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἦσαν.

7 Ξὺν ταύτῃ τῇ δυνάμει ἐστρατοπεδεύκει Δαρεῖος ἐν Γαυγαμήλοις πρὸς ποταμῷ Βουμώδῳ,[2] ἀπέχων Ἀρβήλων τῆς πόλεως ὅσον ἑξακοσίους σταδίους,

[1] A here and III. 11. 4. Τόπειροι.

[2] Roos Βουμήλῳ from VI. 11. 5.

the satrap of Bactria. With these there came also certain Sacae, a Scythian people, of the Scyths who inhabit Asia, not as subjects of Bessus, but owing to alliance with Dareius; Mauaces was their commander, and they were mounted archers. Barsaentes satrap of the Arachotians led both the Arachotians and the Indian hillmen, as they are called. Satibarzanes satrap of the Areians led the Areians. But the Parthyaeans, the Hyrcanians and the Tapurians, who were all cavalry, were commanded by Phrataphernes. Atropates led the Medes; along with the Medes were ranged Cadusians, Albanians, and Sacesinians. The tribes bordering on the Red Sea were marshalled by Ocondobates, Ariobarzanes, and Orxines. The Uxians and Sousianians acknowledged the leadership of Oxathres son of Aboulites. Bupares was in command of the Babylonians. The Carians who had been transplanted and Sitacenians were brigaded with the Babylonians. Of the Armenians, Orontes and Mithraustes were commanders; of the Cappadocians, Ariaces. The Syrians of Lowland-Syria and all from Mesopotamian Syria were under Mazaeus. The number of Dareius' forces was given as 40,000 horse, 1,000,000 foot, 200 scythe-chariots, a few elephants, the Indians on this side of the Indus having some fifteen.

With this army Dareius had encamped at Gaugamela by the River Bumodus, about six hundred stades from the city Arbela, in a position level on all

ἐν χώρῳ ὁμαλῷ πάντη. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὅσα ἀνώμαλα αὐτοῦ ἐς ἱππασίαν, ταῦτα δὲ ἐκ πολλοῦ οἱ Πέρσαι τοῖς τε ἅρμασιν ἐπελαύνειν εὐπετῆ πεποιήκεσαν καὶ τῇ ἵππῳ ἱππάσιμα. Ἦσαν γὰρ οἳ ἀνέπειθον Δαρεῖον ὑπὲρ τῆς πρὸς Ἰσσῷ γενομένης μάχης ὅτι ἄρα ἐμειονέκτησε τῶν χωρίων τῇ στενότητι· καὶ Δαρεῖος οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐπείθετο.

IX. Ταῦτα ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πρὸς τῶν κατασκόπων τῶν Περσῶν ὅσοι ἑάλωσαν, ἔμεινεν αὐτοῦ ἵνα ἐξηγγέλθη ἡμέρας τέσσαρας· καὶ τήν τε στρατιὰν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀνέπαυσε, τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον τάφρῳ τε καὶ χάρακι ἐτείχισεν. Ἔγνω γὰρ τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα ἀπολείπειν καὶ ὅσοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπόμαχοι ἦσαν, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τοῖς μαχίμοις οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ ὅπλα
2 φέρουσιν ἰέναι ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα. Ἀναλαβὼν οὖν τὴν δύναμιν νυκτὸς ἦγεν ἀμφὶ δευτέραν φυλακὴν μάλιστα, ὡς ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ προσμῖξαι τοῖς βαρβάροις. Δαρεῖος δέ, ὡς προσηγγέλθη αὐτῷ προσάγων ἤδη Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐκτάσσει τὴν στρατιὰν ὡς ἐς μάχην· καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἦγεν ὡσαύτως τεταγμένους. Καὶ ἀπεῖχε μὲν ἀλλήλων τὰ στρατόπεδα ὅσον ἑξήκοντα σταδίους, οὐ μήν πω καθεώρων ἀλλήλους· γήλοφοι γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ ἐπίπροσθεν ἀμφοῖν ἦσαν.

3 Ὡς δὲ ἀπεῖχεν Ἀλέξανδρος ὅσον ἐς τριάκοντα σταδίους καὶ κατ' αὐτῶν ἤδη τῶν γηλόφων ᾔει αὐτῷ ὁ στρατός, ἐνταῦθα, ὡς εἶδε τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἔστησε τὴν αὐτοῦ φάλαγγα· καὶ ξυγκαλέσας αὐτούς τε τοὺς[1] ἑταίρους καὶ στρατηγοὺς καὶ ἰλάρχας καὶ τῶν συμμάχων τε καὶ τῶν

[1] αὖ τούς τε Roos.

sides. For what few uneven parts for cavalry there had been the Persians had mostly made convenient both for chariot driving and for cavalry to ride over; for certain persons persuaded Dareius that in the battle of Issus he had, all said and done, suffered disadvantage from the narrowness of the battle-field; and Dareius very readily assented.

IX. On receiving this information from the captured Persian scouts, Alexander stopped where he had received it, for four days; he rested his army after their march and strengthened his camp by a ditch and palisade. For he had decided to leave behind the baggage animals and any non-combatants among his men, and himself with the combatant troops to advance to the battle burdened with nothing but their arms. He therefore marshalled his force at night and led them off just about the second watch, so as to meet the enemy at dawn. Dareius for his part, on hearing that Alexander was already advancing, arrayed his army for battle; while Alexander was bringing up his army also in due battle array. The forces were about sixty stades apart, but did not as yet sight one another, for there were hills intervening in front of both.

When Alexander was about thirty stades away and his army was already descending these hills, sighting the enemy he drew up there his phalanx; and summoning the Companions, the generals, the cavalry commanders, and the commandants of the

μισθοφόρων ξένων τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ἐβουλεύετο εἰ
αὐτόθεν ἐπάγοι ἤδη τὴν φάλαγγα, ὡς οἱ πλεῖστοι
4 ἄγειν ἐκέλευον, ἢ καθάπερ Παρμενίωνι καλῶς
ἔχειν[1] ἐδόκει, τότε μὲν αὐτοῦ καταστρατοπεδεύειν,
κατασκέψασθαι δὲ τόν τε χῶρον ξύμπαντα, εἰ
δή τι ὕποπτον αὐτοῦ ἢ ἄπορον, ἢ εἴ πη τάφροι
ἢ σκόλοπες καταπεπηγότες ἀφανεῖς, καὶ τὰς
τάξεις τῶν πολεμίων ἀκριβέστερον κατιδεῖν. Καὶ
νικᾷ Παρμενίων τῇ γνώμῃ, καὶ καταστρατοπε-
δεύουσιν αὐτοῦ ὅπως τεταγμένοι ἔμελλον ἰέναι
ἐς τὴν μάχην.

5 Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς ψιλοὺς καὶ
τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς ἑταίρους, περιῄει ἐν κύκλῳ
σκοπῶν τὴν χώραν πᾶσαν ἵνα τὸ ἔργον αὐτῷ
ἔσεσθαι ἔμελλεν. Ἐπανελθὼν δὲ καὶ ξυγκαλέσας
αὖθις τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἡγεμόνας, αὐτοὺς μὲν οὐκ ἔφη
χρῆναι παρακαλεῖσθαι πρὸς οὗ ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα·
πάλαι γὰρ εἶναι δι᾽ ἀρετήν τε τὴν σφῶν παρα-
κεκλημένους καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πολλάκις ἤδη καλῶν
6 ἔργων ἀποδεδειγμένων· τοὺς κατὰ σφᾶς δὲ
ἑκάστους ἐξορμᾶν ἠξίου, λοχαγόν τε λοχίτας
καὶ ἰλάρχην τὴν ἴλην τὴν αὑτοῦ ἕκαστον καὶ
ταξιάρχους τὰς τάξεις, τούς τε ἡγεμόνας τῶν
πεζῶν τὴν φάλαγγα ἕκαστον τήν οἱ ἐπιτετραμ-
μένην, ὡς ἐν τῇδε τῇ μάχῃ οὐχ ὑπὲρ Κοίλης
Συρίας ἢ Φοινίκης, οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου, ὡς
πρόσθεν, μαχουμένους, ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ξυμπάσης
Ἀσίας, οὕστινας χρὴ ἄρχειν, ἐν τῷ τότε κριθη-
7 σόμενον. Οὔκουν τὴν ἐς τὰ καλὰ ἐξόρμησιν διὰ
πολλῶν ἀναγκαίαν αὐτοῖς εἶναι οἴκοθεν τοῦτο
ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ κόσμου τε ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ ὅπως

[1] ἔχειν supplied by Krüger.

allies and the mercenary troops, he discussed the question whether he should advance his phalanx at once from that point, as most of them urged, or, as Parmenio thought best, camp for the time being, make a complete survey of the whole ground, in case there should be any part suspicious or impassable, or perhaps ditches, or hidden stakes fixed in the soil, and make a thorough reconnaissance of the enemy's dispositions. Parmenio's advice prevailed and they camped there, but in the order in which they were to engage.

But Alexander, taking with him the light-armed troops and the territorial cavalry, rode all round surveying the ground which was to be the battle-field. Then he returned and again summoned the same officers, and said that there was no need for him to inspire them to the fight; they had long ago been inspired by their own bravery and by their many splendid exploits already done; but he called on each of them to encourage his own men; the infantry captains their companies, the cavalry commanders their own squadrons, the brigadiers their brigades, and the infantry commanders each the phalanx placed under him. In this battle, he pointed out, they were going to fight, not as they had before, for Lowland-Syria or Phoenicia, nor for Egypt, but the sovereignty of all Asia was there and then to be decided. There was then no need for him to stir them to noble deeds by a long speech—such valour was inborn in them—but rather that each in his own

τις καθ' αὑτὸν ἐπιμελήσεται καὶ σιγῆς ἀκριβοῦς ὁπότε σιγῶντας ἐπιέναι δέοι, καὶ αὖ λαμπρᾶς τῆς βοῆς ἵνα ἐμβοῆσαι καλόν, καὶ ἀλαλαγμοῦ
8 ὡς φοβερωτάτου ὁπότε ἐπαλαλάξαι καιρός· αὐτοί τε ὅπως ὀξέως κατακούοιεν τῶν τε παραγγελλομένων, καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν αὖ ὅπως ἐς τὰς τάξεις ὀξέως παραδιδῶνται τὰ παραγγέλματα· ἔν τε τῷ καθ' αὑτὸν ἕκαστον καὶ τὸ πᾶν μεμνῆσθαι ξυγκινδυνεῦόν τε ἀμελουμένῳ καὶ δι' ἐπιμελείας ἐκπονουμένῳ ξυνορθούμενον.

X. Ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα ἄλλα οὐ πολλὰ παρακαλέσας τε καὶ ἀντιπαρακληθεὶς πρὸς τῶν ἡγεμόνων θαρρεῖν ἐπὶ σφίσι, δειπνοποιεῖσθαί τε καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι ἐκέλευσε τὸν στρατόν. Παρμενίων δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι ἀφικόμενος παρ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνήν, νύκτωρ παρῄνει ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς Πέρσαις· ἀπροσδοκήτοις τε γὰρ καὶ ἀνατεταραγμένοις καὶ
2 ἅμα ἐν νυκτὶ φοβερωτέροις ἐπιθήσεσθαι. Ὁ δὲ ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἀποκρίνεται, ὅτι καὶ ἄλλοι κατήκουον τῶν λόγων, αἰσχρὸν εἶναι κλέψαι τὴν νίκην, ἀλλὰ φανερῶς καὶ ἄνευ σοφίσματος χρῆναι νικῆσαι Ἀλέξανδρον. Καὶ τὸ μεγαλήγορον αὐτοῦ τοῦτο οὐχ ὑπέρογκον μᾶλλόν τι ἢ εὐθαρσὲς ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἐφαίνετο· δοκεῖν δ' ἔμοιγε, καὶ
3 λογισμῷ ἀκριβεῖ ἐχρήσατο ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε· ἐν νυκτὶ γὰρ τοῖς τε ἀποχρώντως καὶ τοῖς ἐνδεῶς πρὸς τὰς μάχας παρεσκευασμένοις πολλὰ ἐκ τοῦ παραλόγου ξυμβάντα τοὺς μὲν ἔσφηλε, τοὺς κρείσσονας, τοῖς χείροσι δὲ παρὰ τὰ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἐλπισθέντα τὴν νίκην παρέδωκεν· αὐτῷ τε κινδυνεύοντι τὸ πολὺ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις σφαλερὰ ἡ νὺξ κατεφαίνετο, καὶ ἅμα ἡσσηθέντι τε αὖθις

heart would think of discipline in danger, and complete silence when they must go forward in silence, and of a ringing cheer when it was right to cheer, and of the most frightful battle-cry when it was time to raise it; and that each should smartly obey orders, and pass on smartly too the orders to the ranks; one and all remembering, and the army as a whole, that in his own neglect there was universal danger, and in his own diligent achievement universal success.

X. With these and similar words, though brief, he exhorted them, and was in turn urged by the commanders to rely on them. So he bade his army take their meal and rest. It is related that Parmenio came to him to his tent and advised him to attack the Persians at night, for he would thus fall upon them unready and confused and more open to panic in the night-time. Alexander, however, replied—since others were listening—that it was a low thing to steal the victory, and that Alexander must win his victory openly and without sleight. This loftiness of his did not seem mere excess of vanity, but rather confidence amid dangers; and as I fancy he reasoned well in this matter; for at night many unforeseen occurrences have happened as much to those who were well prepared as to those who were ill prepared for battle, and have caused failure to the stronger and thrown the victory into the hands of the weaker, contrary to the expectations of both. Alexander as a rule ran risks in his battles, but yet he thought night was too risky, and besides, given one more

Δαρείῳ τὴν ξυγχώρησιν τοῦ χείρονι ὄντι καὶ χειρόνων ἡγεῖσθαι ἡ λαθραία τε καὶ νυκτερινὴ
4 *ἐκ σφῶν ἐπίθεσις ἀφῃρεῖτο, εἴ τε τι ἐκ τοῦ παραλόγου πταῖσμα σφίσι ξυμπέσοι, τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις τὰ κύκλῳ φίλια καὶ αὐτοὶ τῆς χώρας ἔμπειροι· σφεῖς δὲ ἄπειροι ἐν πολεμίοις τοῖς πᾶσιν, ὧν οὐ μικρὰ μοῖρα οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι ἦσαν, ξυνεπιθησόμενοι ἐν νυκτὶ μὴ ὅτι πταίσασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ μὴ παρὰ πολὺ νικῶντες φαίνοιντο.* Τούτων τε τῶν λογισμῶν ἕνεκα ἐπαινῶ Ἀλέξανδρον *καὶ τοῦ ἐς τὸ φανερὸν ὑπερόγκου οὐ μεῖον.*

XI. Δαρεῖος *δὲ καὶ ὁ ξὺν* Δαρείῳ *στρατὸς οὕτως ὅπως τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐτάξαντο ἔμειναν τῆς νυκτὸς ξυντεταγμένοι, ὅτι οὔτε στρατόπεδον αὐτοῖς περιεβέβλητο ἀκριβὲς καὶ ἅμα ἐφοβοῦντο μή σφισι νύκτωρ ἐπίθοιντο οἱ πολέμιοι.*
2 Καὶ *εἴπερ τι ἄλλο, καὶ τοῦτο ἐκάκωσε τοῖς* Πέρσαις *ἐν τῷ τότε τὰ πράγματα, ἡ στάσις ἡ πολλὴ ἡ ξὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ τὸ δέος, ὅ τιπερ φιλεῖ πρὸ τῶν μεγάλων κινδύνων γίγνεσθαι, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ παραυτίκα σχεδιασθέν, ἀλλ' ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ μελετηθέν τε καὶ τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῖς δουλωσάμενον.*

3 Ἐτάχθη *δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ στρατιὰ ὧδε· ἑάλω γὰρ ὕστερον ἡ τάξις ἥντινα ἔταξε* Δαρεῖος *γεγραμμένη, ὡς λέγει* Ἀριστόβουλος. Τὸ *μὲν εὐώνυμον αὐτῷ κέρας οἵ τε* Βάκτριοι *ἱππεῖς εἶχον καὶ ξὺν τούτοις* Δάαι *καὶ* Ἀραχῶτοι· *ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις* Πέρσαι *ἐτετάχατο, ἱππεῖς τε ὁμοῦ καὶ πεζοὶ ἀναμεμιγμένοι, καὶ* Σούσιοι *ἐπὶ* Πέρσαις, *ἐπὶ δὲ*
4 Σουσίοις Καδούσιοι. Αὕτη *μὲν ἡ τοῦ εὐωνύμου κέρως ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον τῆς πάσης φάλαγγος*

defeat of Dareius, the secret attack by the Greeks under cover of night would excuse Dareius from any confession of being a worse general with worse troops; while should any unexpected disaster happen to themselves, the enemy had a friendly country round them, with which they were familiar, while they themselves were in an unknown country full of enemies, and of these a good number were prisoners who would be sure to make an onslaught at night, not only in case of failure but even if they did not clearly win a preponderating victory. For these reasons I commend Alexander, and equally so for his bold resolve for a daylight action.

XI. Dareius and his army remained during the night marshalled in the order which they had drawn up at first; for they had no proper entrenched camp surrounding them, and also they feared all along that the enemy would make a night attack. This more than anything else hampered the fortunes of the Persians at this crisis, their long stand under arms and their fear, such as usually comes before great dangers, not suddenly created from the crisis of the moment, but long dwelt on, and having long since unnerved their minds.

The army was drawn up thus; for, as Aristobulus tells us, the written arrangements as Dareius arranged it were afterwards captured. The left wing the Bactrian cavalry held, and with them the Dahans and the Arachotians; next to them were arrayed Persians, cavalry and infantry mixed, and after the Persians Susians, and after the Susians Cadusians. This was the disposition of the left wing

τάξις ἦν· κατὰ δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν οἵ τε ἐκ Κοίλης Συρίας καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς μέσης τῶν ποταμῶν ἐτετάχατο, καὶ Μῆδοι ἔτι κατὰ τὸ δεξιόν, ἐπὶ δὲ Παρθυαῖοι καὶ Σάκαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Τάπουροι καὶ Ὑρκάνιοι, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀλβανοὶ καὶ Σακεσίναι, οὗτοι μὲν ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον τῆς πάσης φάλαγγος.
5 Κατὰ τὸ μέσον δέ, ἵνα ἦν βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος, οἵ τε ξυγγενεῖς οἱ βασιλέως ἐτετάχατο καὶ οἱ μηλοφόροι Πέρσαι καὶ Ἰνδοὶ καὶ Κᾶρες οἱ ἀνάσπαστοι καλούμενοι καὶ οἱ Μάρδοι τοξόται· Οὔξιοι δὲ καὶ Βαβυλώνιοι καὶ οἱ πρὸς τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσσῃ καὶ Σιτακηνοὶ ἐς βάθος ἐπι-
6 τεταγμένοι ἦσαν. Προετετάχατο δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ εὐωνύμου κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου οἵ τε Σκύθαι ἱππεῖς καὶ τῶν Βακτριανῶν ἐς χιλίους καὶ ἅρματα δρεπανηφόρα ἑκατόν. Οἱ δὲ ἐλέφαντες ἔστησαν κατὰ τὴν Δαρείου ἴλην τὴν
7 βασιλικὴν καὶ ἅρματα ἐς πεντήκοντα. Τοῦ δὲ δεξιοῦ οἵ τε Ἀρμενίων καὶ Καππαδόκων ἱππεῖς προετετάχατο καὶ ἅρματα δρεπανηφόρα πεντήκοντα. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες οἱ μισθοφόροι παρὰ Δαρεῖόν τε αὐτὸν ἑκατέρωθεν καὶ τοὺς ἅμα αὐτῷ Πέρσας κατὰ τὴν φάλαγγα αὐτὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων, ὡς μόνοι δὴ ἀντίρροποι τῇ φάλαγγι, ἐτάχθησαν.

8 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ ἡ στρατιὰ ἐκοσμήθη ὧδε. Τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν αὐτῷ εἶχον τῶν ἱππέων οἱ ἑταῖροι, ὧν προετέτακτο ἡ ἴλη ἡ βασιλική, ἧς Κλεῖτος ὁ Δρωπίδου ἰλάρχης ἦν, ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτῃ ἡ Γλαυκίου ἴλη, ἐχομένη δὲ αὐτῆς ἡ Ἀρίστωνος, ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Σωπόλιδος τοῦ Ἑρμοδώρου, ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ἀντιόχου, ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δὲ ἡ Δημητρίου τοῦ

up to the centre of the entire phalanx. On the right were marshalled the troops from Lowland-Syria and Mesopotamia; and next, on the right, were Medes, and within them Parthyaeans and Sacians, then Tapurians and Hyrcanians, and then Albanians and Sacesinians, right up to the centre of the entire phalanx. In the centre, where was King Dareius, were posted the king's kinsmen, the Persians whose spears are fitted with golden apples,[1] Indians, the "transplanted" Carians, as they were called, and the Mardian bowmen. The Uxians, Babylonians, Red Sea tribes, and Sitacenians were in deep formation behind them. Then, in advance, on the left wing, facing Alexander's right, were the Scythian cavalry, some thousand Bactrians, and a hundred scythe-chariots. The elephants were posted ahead of Dareius' royal squadron, and fifty chariots. In front of the right wing were posted the Armenian and Cappadocian cavalry and fifty scythe-chariots. The Greek mercenaries, close by Dareius, and his Persian troops, on either side, were stationed exactly opposite the Macedonian phalanx as being the only troops able to meet the phalanx.

Alexander's army was marshalled thus: his right wing was held by the mounted Companions, the royal squadron being in advance of them; it was commanded by Cleitus son of Dropides; next came Glaucias' squadron, next Aristo's, next that of Sopolis son of Hermodorus, next that of Heracleides son of Antiochus, then that of Demetrius

[1] The "apples" were possibly pomegranates or quinces. Apples, however, were symbols of the sun.

Ἀλθαιμένους, ταύτης δὲ ἐχομένη ἡ Μελεάγρου, τελευταία δὲ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἰλῶν ἧς Ἡγέλοχος ὁ Ἱπποστράτου ἰλάρχης ἦν. Ξυμπάσης δὲ τῆς ἵππου τῶν ἑταίρων Φιλώτας ἦρχεν ὁ Παρμε-
9 νίωνος. Τῆς δὲ φάλαγγος τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐχόμενον τῶν ἱππέων πρῶτον τὸ ἄγημα ἐτέτακτο τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ οἱ ἄλλοι ὑπασπισταί· ἡγεῖτο δὲ αὐτῶν Νικάνωρ ὁ Παρμενίωνος· τούτων δὲ ἐχομένη ἡ Κοίνου τοῦ Πολεμοκράτους τάξις ἦν, μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἡ Περδίκκου τοῦ Ὀρόντου, ἔπειτα ἡ Μελεάγρου τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου, ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Πολυσπέρχοντος τοῦ Σιμμίου, ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Ἀμύντου τοῦ Ἀνδρομένους· ταύτης δὲ ἡγεῖτο Σιμμίας, ὅτι Ἀμύντας ἐπὶ Μακεδονίας ἐς ξυλλογὴν στρατιᾶς ἐσταλμένος
10 ἦν. Τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον τῆς φάλαγγος τῶν Μακεδόνων ἡ Κρατέρου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τάξις εἶχε, καὶ αὐτὸς Κράτερος ἐξῆρχε τοῦ εὐωνύμου τῶν πεζῶν· καὶ ἱππεῖς ἐχόμενοι αὐτοῦ οἱ ξύμμαχοι, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Ἐρίγυιος ὁ Λαρίχου· τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ ἱππεῖς, ὧν ἦρχε Φίλιππος ὁ Μενελάου. Ξύμπαν δὲ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἦγε Παρμενίων ὁ Φιλώτα, καὶ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν οἱ τῶν Φαρσαλίων ἱππεῖς οἱ κράτιστοί τε καὶ πλεῖστοι τῆς Θεσσαλικῆς ἵππου ἀνεστρέφοντο.

XII. Ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ μετώπου τάξις Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὧδε κεκόσμητο· ἐπέταξε δὲ καὶ δευτέραν τάξιν ὡς εἶναι τὴν φάλαγγα ἀμφίστομον. Καὶ παρήγγελτο τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων, εἰ κυκλουμένους τοὺς σφῶν πρὸς τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος κατίδοιεν, ἐπιστρέψαντας ἐς τὸ

son of Althaemenes, next Meleager's, and finally of the royal squadrons that commanded by Hegelochus son of Hippostratus. Of the mounted Companions as a whole Philotas son of Parmenio was commander-in-chief. Of the Macedonian infantry phalanx, next to the cavalry was stationed first the picked corps of the bodyguards and then the rest of the bodyguards; they were under Nicanor son of Parmenio; after them came the brigade of Coenus son of Polemocrates, next that of Perdiccas son of Orontes, then that of Meleager son of Neoptolemus, then that of Polysperchon son of Simmias, next that of Amyntas son of Andromenes; this was led by Simmias, since Amyntas had been sent to Macedonia to collect troops. The left of the Macedonian phalanx was held by the brigade of Craterus son of Alexander, Craterus himself commanding the left of the infantry. Following on them came the allied cavalry, under Erigyius son of Larichus; beyond them, right up to the left wing, were the Thessalian cavalry under Philippus son of Menelaus. The commander of the entire left was Parmenio son of Philotas, and round him rode the Pharsalian cavalry, the finest and most numerous of the Thessalian horsemen.

XII. This was the order in which Alexander had arranged his front; but he posted a second line so as to duplicate his phalanx. The commanders of this reserve line had been ordered, if they should see their own front line being surrounded by the Persian

2 ἔμπαλιν δέχεσθαι τοὺς βαρβάρους· ἐς ἐπικαμπὴν δέ, εἴ που ἀνάγκη καταλαμβάνοι ἢ ἀναπτύξαι ἢ ξυγκλεῖσαι τὴν φάλαγγα, κατὰ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἐχόμενοι τῆς βασιλικῆς ἴλης τῶν Ἀγριάνων ἐτάχθησαν οἱ ἡμίσεες, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Ἄτταλος, καὶ μετὰ τούτων οἱ Μακεδόνες τοξόται, ὧν Βρίσων ἦρχεν, ἐχόμενοι δὲ τῶν τοξοτῶν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι καλούμενοι ξένοι καὶ ἄρχων
3 τούτων Κλέανδρος. Προετάχθησαν δὲ τῶν τε Ἀγριάνων καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν οἵ τε πρόδρομοι ἱππεῖς καὶ οἱ Παίονες, ὧν Ἀρέτης καὶ Ἀρίστων ἡγοῦντο. Ξυμπάντων δὲ προτεταγμένοι ἦσαν οἱ μισθοφόροι ἱππεῖς, ὧν Μενίδας ἦρχε. Τῆς δὲ βασιλικῆς ἴλης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἑταίρων προτεταγμένοι ἦσαν τῶν τε Ἀγριάνων καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν οἱ ἡμίσεες, καὶ οἱ Βαλάκρου ἀκοντισταί· οὗτοι κατὰ ἅρματα τὰ δρεπανηφόρα ἐτετάχατο.
4 Μενίδᾳ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ᾿ αὐτὸν παρήγγελτο, εἰ περιιππεύοιεν οἱ πολέμιοι τὸ κέρας σφῶν, ἐς πλαγίους ἐμβάλλειν αὐτοὺς ἐπικάμψαντας. Τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως οὕτως ἐτέτακτο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· κατὰ δὲ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἐς ἐπικαμπὴν οἵ τε Θρᾷκες ἐτετάχατο, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Σιτάλκης, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἱππεῖς, ὧν ἦρχε Κοίρανος, ἐπὶ δὲ οἱ Ὀδρύσαι ἱππεῖς, ὧν ἡγεῖτο
5 Ἀγάθων ὁ Τυρίμμα. Ξυμπάντων δὲ ταύτῃ προετάχθη ἡ ξενικὴ ἵππος ἡ τῶν μισθοφόρων, ὧν Ἀνδρόμαχος ὁ Ἱέρωνος ἦρχεν. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς σκευοφόροις οἱ ἀπὸ Θρᾴκης πεζοὶ ἐς φυλακὴν ἐτάχθησαν. Ἡ πᾶσα δὲ στρατιὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἱππεῖς μὲν ἐς ἑπτακισχιλίους, πεζοὶ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰς τέσσαρας μυριάδας.

host, to wheel round and receive the Persian attack. In case, however, need should arise either to extend out the phalanx or to contract it, the half of the Agrianes under Attalus next to the royal squadron, on the right wing, along with them the Macedonian archers under Briso, were posted at a slightly inclined angle; next to the archers were so-called old guard of the mercenaries under Cleander. In advance of the Agrianes and the archers were the mounted scouts and the Paeonians, under Aretes and Aristo. In front of the entire body were the mercenary cavalry under Menidas. In advance of the royal squadron and the other Companions were stationed half the Agrianes and archers, and the javelin men of Balacrus who were opposed to the scythe-chariots. Menidas and his troops had been ordered, if the enemy should try to ride round their wing, to wheel and attack them on the flank. This was the disposition of Alexander's right wing: on the left had been posted, also at an inclined angle, the Thracians under Sitalces, and next the allied cavalry, under Coeranus, and then the Odrysian cavalry, under Agathon son of Tyrimmes. In front of the whole body, at this point, was posted the paid foreign cavalry under Andromachus son of Hiero. The Thracian foot had been posted to guard the baggage animals. The entire army of Alexander numbered 7000 cavalry and about 40,000 infantry.

XIII. Ὡς δὲ ὁμοῦ ἤδη τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐγίγνετο, ὤφθη Δαρεῖός τε καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτόν, οἵ τε μηλοφόροι Πέρσαι καὶ Ἰνδοὶ καὶ Ἀλβανοὶ καὶ Κᾶρες οἱ ἀνάσπαστοι καὶ οἱ Μάρδοι τοξόται κατ' αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τεταγμένοι καὶ τὴν ἴλην τὴν βασιλικήν. Ἦγε δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν τὸ αὑτοῦ Ἀλέξανδρος μᾶλλον, καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀντιπαρῆγον, ὑπερφαλαγγοῦντες πολὺ ἐπὶ τῷ
2 σφῶν εὐωνύμῳ. Ἤδη τε οἱ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἱππεῖς παριππεύοντες ἥπτοντο τῶν προτεταγμένων τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τάξεως καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτι ὅμως ἦγεν ἐπὶ δόρυ, καὶ ἐγγὺς ἦν τοῦ ἐξαλλάσσειν τὸν ὡδοπεποιημένον πρὸς τῶν Περσῶν χῶρον. Ἔνθα δὴ δείσας Δαρεῖος μὴ προχωρησάντων ἐς τὰ οὐχ ὁμαλὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀχρεῖά σφισι γένηται τὰ ἅρματα, κελεύει τοὺς προτεταγμένους τοῦ εὐωνύμου περιιππεύειν τὸ κέρας τὸ δεξιόν, ᾗ Ἀλέξανδρος ἦγε, τοῦ μηκέτι προσωτέρω αὐτοὺς
3 ἐξάγειν τὸ κέρας. Τούτου δὲ γενομένου Ἀλέξανδρος ἐμβάλλειν κελεύει ἐς αὐτοὺς τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἱππέας, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Μενίδας. Ἀντεκδραμόντες δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἵ τε Σκύθαι ἱππεῖς καὶ τῶν Βακτρίων οἱ ξυντεταγμένοι τοῖς Σκύθαις τρέπουσιν ὀλίγους ὄντας πολλῷ πλείονες. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τοὺς περὶ Ἀρίστωνά τε, τοὺς Παίονας, καὶ τοὺς ξένους ἐμβαλεῖν τοῖς Σκύθαις
4 ἐκέλευσε· καὶ ἐγκλίνουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι. Βάκτριοι δὲ οἱ ἄλλοι πελάσαντες τοῖς Παίοσί τε καὶ ξένοις τούς τε σφῶν φεύγοντας ἤδη ἀνέστρεψαν ἐς τὴν μάχην καὶ τὴν ἱππομαχίαν ξυστῆναι ἐποίησαν. Καὶ ἔπιπτον μὲν πλείονες τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου, τῷ τε πλήθει τῶν βαρβάρων

XIII. When the armies now were nearing one another, Dareius and his immediate followers were in full sight; there were the Persian "spearmen of the Golden Apples," Indians, Albanians, the "transplanted" Carians, and the Mardian archers, all ranged over against Alexander and the royal squadron; Alexander, however, led off his men rather in the direction of his right, on which the Persians moved accordingly, their left far outflanking the Greeks. Already the Scythian cavalry, riding parallel with the Greeks, found touch with the troops posted in front of Alexander's main body; but Alexander still continued steadily his march towards his right, and was nearly clear of the ground which had been trampled level by the Persians. On this Dareius, afraid lest—if the Macedonians reached the uneven ground—his chariots would be of no service, ordered the troops which were in advance of his left wing to wheel round the Greek right which Alexander was leading, so that the Greeks might not prolong their wing any farther. Upon this Alexander ordered his mercenary cavalry under Menidas to charge them. At once the Scythian cavalry, and the Bactrian which was brigaded with the Scythian, dashed out to meet them, and by sheer weight of numbers drove them back. But Alexander ordered Aristo's brigade, the Paeonians, and the mercenaries to charge the Scythians, on which the Persians wavered. The rest of the Bactrians, however, joining up with the Paeonians and the foreign troops, at once restored to the battle those of their own men who were turning to flight, and thus made the cavalry engagement a close one. Alexander's men fell in greater numbers, overwhelmed with the number of

βιαζόμενοι καὶ ὅτι αὐτοί τε οἱ Σκύθαι καὶ οἱ ἵπποι αὐτοῖς ἀκριβέστερον ἐς φυλακὴν πεφραγμένοι ἦσαν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὣς τάς τε προσβολὰς αὐτῶν ἐδέχοντο οἱ Μακεδόνες καὶ βίᾳ κατ' ἴλας προσπίπτοντες ἐξώθουν ἐκ τῆς τάξεως.

5 Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τὰ ἅρματα τὰ δρεπανηφόρα ἐφῆκαν οἱ βάρβαροι κατ' αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ὡς ἀναταράξοντες αὐτῷ τὴν φάλαγγα. Καὶ ταύτῃ μάλιστα ἐψεύσθησαν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ εὐθὺς ὡς προσεφέρετο κατηκόντισαν οἵ τε Ἀγριᾶνες καὶ οἱ ξὺν Βαλάκρῳ ἀκονтισταὶ οἱ προτεταγμένοι τῆς ἵππου τῶν ἑταίρων· τὰ δὲ τῶν ῥυτήρων ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι τούς τε ἀναβάτας κατέσπων 6 καὶ τοὺς ἵππους περιιστάμενοι ἔκοπτον. Ἔστι δὲ ἃ καὶ διεξέπεσε διὰ τῶν τάξεων· διέσχον γάρ, ὥσπερ παρήγγελτο αὐτοῖς, ἵνα προσέπιπτε τὰ ἅρματα· καὶ ταύτῃ μάλιστα ξυνέβη αὐτά τε σῶα καὶ οἷς ἐπηλάθη ἀβλαβεῖς διελθεῖν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων οἵ τε ἱπποκόμοι τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατιᾶς καὶ οἱ ὑπασπισταὶ οἱ βασιλικοὶ ἐκράτησαν.

XIV. Ὡς δὲ Δαρεῖος ἐπῆγεν ἤδη τὴν φάλαγγα πᾶσαν, ἐνταῦθα Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀρέτην μὲν κελεύει ἐμβαλεῖν τοῖς περιιππεύουσι τὸ κέρας σφῶν τὸ δεξιὸν ὡς ἐς κύκλωσιν· αὐτὸς δὲ τέως μὲν ἐπὶ 2 κέρως τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἦγε· τῶν δὲ ἐκβοηθησάντων ἱππέων τοῖς κυκλουμένοις τὸ κέρας τὸ δεξιὸν παραρρηξάντων τι τῆς πρώτης φάλαγγος τῶν βαρβάρων, ἐπιστρέψας κατὰ τὸ διέχον, καὶ ὥσπερ ἔμβολον ποιήσας τῆς τε ἵππου τῆς ἑταιρικῆς καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος τῆς ταύτῃ τεταγμένης, ἦγε δρόμῳ τε καὶ ἀλαλαγμῷ ὡς ἐπὶ αὐτὸν

the Persians, and also because the Scythians, riders and horses alike, were better protected by defensive armour. Yet even so the Macedonians stood up against their onsets, and falling on them stoutly, squadron after squadron, broke their formation.

Meanwhile the Persians launched their scythe-chariots direct upon Alexander, in the hope of throwing his phalanx also out of formation; but in this they failed signally. For in the first place, as soon as they approached, the Agrianes and the javelin-men under Balacrus who had been stationed forward to screen the Companions' cavalry met them with volleys; and secondly, they snatched at the reins, pulled down the drivers, and crowding round the horses cut them down. One or two did pass right through the Greek lines, for, as they had been ordered, they parted asunder where the chariots attacked; and thereby it fell out that the chariots passed through unscathed and the troops against which they were driven were unscathed also. These chariots too were afterwards overpowered by the grooms of Alexander's army and the royal body-guards.

XIV. When now Dareius brought on his complete phalanx, Alexander ordered Aretes to charge the Persian cavalry which was wheeling round the Greek right wing to enclose it; he himself for a short time led on his army in column; but when the cavalry who had been sent off to attack the Persians, wheeling round the Greek right, had broken in some degree the front of the Persian phalanx, he wheeled towards the gap, and making a wedge of the Companion cavalry and the part of the phalanx which was at this point, he led them on at the double, and, with a

3 Δαρεῖον. Καὶ χρόνον μέν τινα ὀλίγον ἐν χερσὶν ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο· ὡς δὲ οἵ τε ἱππεῖς οἱ ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος εὐρώστως ἐνέκειντο ὠθισμοῖς τε χρώμενοι καὶ τοῖς ξυστοῖς τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν Περσῶν κόπτοντες, ἥ τε φάλαγξ ἡ Μακεδονικὴ πυκνὴ καὶ ταῖς σαρίσσαις πεφρικυῖα ἐμβεβλήκει ἤδη αὐτοῖς, καὶ πάντα ὁμοῦ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ πάλαι ἤδη φοβερῷ ὄντι Δαρείῳ ἐφαίνετο, πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἐπιστρέψας ἔφευγεν· ἐφοβήθησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ περιιππεύοντες τῶν Περσῶν τὸ κέρας ἐμβαλόντων ἐς αὐτοὺς εὐρώστως τῶν περὶ Ἀρέτην.

4 Ταύτῃ μὲν δὴ τῶν Περσῶν φυγὴ καρτερὰ ἦν, καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες ἐφεπόμενοι ἐφόνευον τοὺς φεύγοντας. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Σιμμίαν καὶ ἡ τούτου τάξις οὐκέτι συνεξορμῆσαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δυνατοὶ ἐγένοντο ἐς τὴν δίωξιν, ἀλλ' ἐπιστήσαντες τὴν φάλαγγα αὐτοῦ ἠγωνίζοντο, ὅτι τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν
5 Μακεδόνων πονεῖσθαι ἠγγέλλετο. Καὶ ταύτῃ παραρραγείσης αὐτοῖς τῆς τάξεως, κατὰ τὸ διέχον διεκπαίουσι τῶν τε Ἰνδῶν τινες καὶ τῆς Περσικῆς ἵππου ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα τῶν Μακεδόνων· καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐκεῖ καρτερὸν ἐγίγνετο. Οἵ τε γὰρ Πέρσαι θρασέως ἐνέκειντο ἀνόπλοις τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ οὐ προσδοκήσασιν ἐπὶ σφᾶς διεκπεσεῖσθαί τινας διακόψαντας διπλῆν τὴν φάλαγγα, καὶ οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι βάρβαροι ἐμβαλλόντων τῶν Περσῶν ξυνεπέθεντο καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῖς
6 Μακεδόσιν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ. Τῶν δὲ ἐπιτεταγμένων τῇ πρώτῃ φάλαγγι οἱ ἡγεμόνες ὀξέως, μαθόντες τὸ γιγνόμενον, μεταβαλόντες, ἧπερ παρήγγελτο

loud battle cry, straight at Dareius. Now for some little time it became a hand-to-hand fight; but when the cavalry with Alexander, and Alexander himself, stoutly fell on the enemy, actually hustling the Persians, and striking their faces with their spears, and the Macedonian phalanx, solid and bristling with its pikes, had now got to close quarters with them, and Dareius, nervous as he had been all along, saw nothing but terrors all around, he was himself the first to turn and ride away. Those too of the Persians who were trying to envelop the Greek right took fright at the vigorous charge of Aretes and his men.

At this place indeed the Persians' rout was complete, and the Macedonians following up kept slaughtering the fugitives. But Simmias' staff and the brigade under him were unable to join up with Alexander for the pursuit, but halted their phalanx where it was and continued the struggle, since the Macedonian left was reported to be in difficulties. And at this point the Greek formation was broken, and into the gap there thrust some of the Indians and of the Persian cavalry right up to the Macedonians' baggage animals; and there the action was becoming severe. For the Persians boldly fell upon their adversaries, being mostly unarmed men, and having never dreamt that anyone would make a cleavage through the phalanx, doubled as it was, and force their way right up to them; what is more, the Persian captives themselves, as the Persians broke in, joined with them in the action and fell upon the Macedonians. However, the commanders of the troops which formed the reserve to the first phalanx, learning what had happened, smartly turned about face, according to previous orders, and so

αὐτοῖς, τὴν τάξιν ἐπιγίγνονται κατὰ νώτου τοῖς Πέρσαις, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν αὐτοῦ ἀμφὶ τοῖς σκευοφόροις ξυνεχομένους ἀπέκτειναν· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐγκλίναντες ἔφευγον. Οἱ δʼ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως τῶν Περσῶν, οὔπω τῆς φυγῆς τῆς Δαρείου ᾐσθημένοι, περιιππεύσαντες τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου εὐώνυμον κατὰ κέρας τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Παρμενίωνα ἐνέβαλον.

XV. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀμφιβόλων τὰ πρῶτα γιγνομένων τῶν Μακεδόνων, πέμπει Παρμενίων παρʼ Ἀλέξανδρον σπουδῇ ἀγγελοῦντα ὅτι ἐν ἀγῶνι ξυνέχεται τὸ κατὰ σφᾶς καὶ βοηθεῖν δεῖ. Ταῦτα ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, τοῦ μὲν διώκειν ἔτι ἀπετράπετο, ἐπιστρέψας δὲ σὺν τῇ ἵππῳ τῶν ἑταίρων ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν βαρβάρων ἦγε δρόμῳ. Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τοῖς φεύγουσι τῶν πολεμίων ἱππεῦσι, τοῖς τε Παρθυαίοις καὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἔστιν οἷς καὶ Πέρσαις τοῖς πλείστοις καὶ
2 κρατίστοις ἐμβάλλει. Καὶ ἱππομαχία αὕτη καρτερωτάτη τοῦ παντὸς ἔργου ξυνέστη. Ἐς βάθος τε γάρ, οἷα δὴ ἴλαδὸν τεταγμένοι, ἀνέστρεφον οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἀντιμέτωποι τοῖς ἀμφʼ Ἀλέξανδρον ξυμπεσόντες οὔτε ἀκοντισμῷ ἔτι οὔτʼ ἐξελιγμοῖς τῶν ἵππων, ἧπερ ἱππομαχίας δίκη, ἐχρῶντο, ἀλλὰ διεκπαῖσαι πᾶς τις τὸ καθʼ αὑτόν, ὡς μόνην ταύτην σωτηρίαν σφίσιν οὖσαν ἐπειγόμενοι, ἔκοπτόν τε καὶ ἐκόπτοντο ἀφειδῶς, οἷα δὴ οὐχ ὑπὲρ νίκης ἀλλοτρίας ἔτι, ἀλλʼ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας οἰκείας ἀγωνιζόμενοι. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα πίπτουσι μὲν ἀμφὶ ἑξήκοντα τῶν ἑταίρων τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ τιτρώσκεται Ἡφαιστίων τε αὐτὸς καὶ Κοῖνος καὶ Μενίδας· ἀλλὰ ἐκράτησε καὶ τούτων Ἀλέξανδρος.

appeared in the rear of the Persians and slew large numbers of them, crowded together as they were round the baggage animals. Some, however, gave way and so escaped. The Persians of the right wing, meanwhile, not having wind yet of Dareius' flight, wheeling round Alexander's left, were making a flank attack on Parmenio's troops.

XV. At this, since at first the Macedonians were between two fires, Parmenio sent to Alexander a despatch rider to report with all haste that his troops were in a desperate position and needed help. Alexander receiving this message turned back from further pursuit, and wheeling round with the mounted Companions came galloping down on the Persian right and charged first such of the enemy's cavalry as were in flight, the Parthyaeans, some Indians, and the main host (and the strongest) of the Persians. Here raged the fiercest cavalry engagement of the whole action. For being drawn up by squadrons, and so in column, the Persians wheeled round and clashed with Alexander's troops front to front: there was no javelin-throwing and no manœuvring of horses, such as are usual in a cavalry engagement, but each tried to break his way through whatever opposed him, pressing on as if this were their one hope of safety. So they continued beating and battered, with no quarter given, as men now no longer fighting for someone else's victory, but for their own very lives. There about sixty of the Companions of Alexander fell, and Hephaestion himself, Coenus, and Menidas were wounded.

3 Καὶ τούτων μὲν ὅσοι διεξέπεσον[1] διὰ τῶν ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἔφευγον ἀνὰ κράτος· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐγγὺς ἦν προσμῖξαι ἤδη τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι τῶν πολεμίων. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ ἱππεῖς λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισάμενοι οὐχ ὑπελείποντο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοῦ ἔργου· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔφευγον ἤδη οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως τῶν βαρβάρων, ὁπότε Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτοῖς ξυνέμιξεν, ὥστε ἀποτραπόμενος Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς τὸ διώκειν αὖθις Δαρεῖον ἐξώρμησε· καὶ ἐδίωξεν ἔστε φάος
4 ἦν· καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Παρμενίωνα τὸ καθ' αὑτοὺς διώκοντες εἵποντο. Ἀλλὰ Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν διαβὰς τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Λύκον κατεστρατοπέδευσεν αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἀναπαῦσαι ὀλίγον τούς τε ἄνδρας καὶ τοὺς ἵππους· Παρμενίων δὲ τό τε στρατόπεδον τῶν βαρβάρων εἷλε καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας καὶ τὰς καμήλους.

5 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἀναπαύσας τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἱππέας ἔστε ἐπὶ μέσας νύκτας προὐχώρει αὖθις κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπ' Ἄρβηλα, ὡς Δαρεῖόν τε αἱρήσων ἐκεῖ καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν τὴν βασιλικήν· καὶ ἀφίκετο ἐς Ἄρβηλα τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ, διώξας τοὺς πάντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης σταδίους μάλιστα ἐς ἑξακοσίους. Καὶ Δαρεῖον μὲν οὐ καταλαμβάνει ἐν Ἀρβήλοις, ἀλλὰ ἔφευγεν οὐδέν τι ἐλινύσας Δαρεῖος· τὰ χρήματα δὲ ἐγκατελήφθη καὶ ἡ κατασκευὴ πᾶσα, καὶ τὸ ἅρμα τὸ Δαρείου αὖθις ἐγκατελήφθη καὶ ἡ ἀσπὶς αὖθις καὶ τὰ τόξα ἑάλω.

6 Ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἄνδρες

[1] διεξέπαισαν Polak, see I. 8. 5.

Yet even these foes did Alexander overcome, and those of the Persians who contrived to pass through Alexander's troops took to headlong flight. But Alexander was now ready to come to blows with the enemy's right wing, and here the Thessalian cavalry, who fought gloriously, had been no whit behind Alexander in the action, in fact those on the enemy's right were already taking to their heels when Alexander approached them, so Alexander turned back again and began once more his pursuit of Dareius, and he pursued as long as the light held; and Parmenio's troops followed, pursuing their late opponents. But Alexander crossed the river Lycus and there encamped, to rest a little both his men and horses, but Parmenio took the Persian camp with the baggage trains, elephants, and camels.

Alexander rested his cavalry till towards midnight, and hurried on to Arbela, hoping to seize Dareius there and his treasure and all the other royal belongings. He arrived at Arbela next day, having covered in all, since the battle, six hundred stades in the pursuit. However, he did not catch Dareius at Arbela, for Dareius had continued his flight without delaying; yet the treasure was captured there and the other belongings, including the chariot of Dareius, which was again captured, and his spear too and bow and arrows were taken a second time.

Of Alexander's troops upwards of a hundred

μὲν ἐς ἑκατὸν μάλιστα, ἵπποι δὲ ἔκ τε τῶν τραυμάτων καὶ τῆς κακοπαθείας τῆς ἐν τῇ διώξει ὑπὲρ τοὺς χιλίους, καὶ τούτων τῆς ἑταιρικῆς ἵππου σχεδόν τι οἱ ἡμίσεες. Τῶν βαρβάρων δὲ νεκρῶν μὲν ἐλέγοντο ἐς τριάκοντα μυριάδας, ἑάλωσαν δὲ πολλῷ πλείονες τῶν ἀποθανόντων καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες καὶ τῶν ἁρμάτων ὅσα μὴ κατεκόπη ἐν τῇ μάχῃ.

7 Τοῦτο τὸ τέλος τῇ μάχῃ ταύτῃ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοις Ἀριστοφάνους μηνὸς Πυανεψιῶνος· καὶ Ἀριστάνδρῳ ξυνέβη ἡ μαντεία ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μηνὶ ἐν ὅτῳ ἡ σελήνη ἐκλιπὴς ἐφάνη, τήν τε μάχην Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ τὴν νίκην γενέσθαι.

XVI. Δαρεῖος μὲν δὴ εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς μάχης παρὰ τὰ ὄρη τὰ Ἀρμενίων ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ Μηδίας, καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ οἵ τε Βάκτριοι ἱππεῖς, ὡς τότε ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ξυνετάχθησαν, ἔφευγον καὶ Περσῶν οἵ τε συγγενεῖς οἱ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν μηλοφόρων
2 καλουμένων οὐ πολλοί. Προσεγένοντο δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων ξένων ἐς δισχιλίους, οὓς Πάρων τε ὁ Φωκεὺς καὶ Γλαῦκος ὁ Αἰτωλὸς ἦγον. Ταύτῃ δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ φυγὴ ἐπὶ Μηδίας ἐγίγνετο ὅτι ἐδόκει τὴν ἐπὶ Σούσων τε καὶ Βαβυλῶνος ἥξειν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκ τῆς μάχης, ὅτι οἰκουμένη τε ἐκείνη πᾶσα ἦν καὶ ὁδὸς τοῖς σκευοφόροις οὐ χαλεπή, καὶ ἅμα τοῦ πολέμου τὸ ἆθλον ἡ Βαβυλὼν καὶ τὰ Σοῦσα ἐφαίνετο, ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ Μηδίας μεγάλῳ στρατεύματι οὐκ εὔπορος.

3 Καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσθη Δαρεῖος. Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ ἐξ Ἀρβήλων ὁρμηθεὶς τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος εὐθὺς

perished, but of horses, from wounds and distress in the pursuit, over a thousand, and among these nearly half of the Companions' horses. Of the Persian dead were counted some three hundred thousand, but even a greater number of prisoners were made than the slain, and the elephants and such chariots as had not been destroyed in the battle were also captured.

So ended this battle, in the archonship at Athens of Aristophanes and in the month Pyanepsion.[1] Thus Aristander's prophecy came true, that in the selfsame month in which the moon was eclipsed Alexander's battle and victory should occur.

XVI. As for Dareius, he fled straight from the battle by the Armenian mountains towards Media, and with him the Bactrian cavalry, as they had been posted to him in the battle; and also of the Persians the royal kinsmen and the greater number of the "spearmen of the Golden Apple." There joined him during the flight also some two thousand of the foreign mercenaries led by Paron the Phocian and Glaucus the Aetolian. The reason why he fled towards Media was because he imagined that Alexander after the battle would take the road to Susa and Babylon, since all that part was inhabited and the road itself was easy for the baggage trains, and besides, Babylon and Susa naturally seemed to be the prize of the war. The road to Media, on the contrary, was not good for a large force.

Dareius was not mistaken, for Alexander leaving Arbela at once took the road to Babylon. He was

[1] October, 331.

προυχώρει. Ἤδη τε οὐ πόρρω Βαβυλῶνος ἦν,
καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ξυντεταγμένην ὡς ἐς μάχην
ἦγε, καὶ οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι πανδημεὶ ἀπήντων αὐτῷ
ξὺν ἱερεῦσί τε σφῶν καὶ ἄρχουσι, δῶρά τε ὡς
ἕκαστοι φέροντες καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐνδιδόντες καὶ
4 τὴν ἄκραν καὶ τὰ χρήματα. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ
παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, τὰ ἱερὰ ἃ Ξέρξης
καθεῖλεν ἀνοικοδομεῖν προσέταξε Βαβυλωνίοις,
τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τοῦ Βήλου τὸ ἱερόν, ὃν μάλιστα
θεῶν τιμῶσι Βαβυλώνιοι. Σατράπην δὲ κατέ-
στησε Βαβυλῶνος Μαζαῖον, Ἀπολλόδωρον δὲ
τὸν Ἀμφιπολίτην στρατηγὸν τῶν μετὰ Μαζαίου
ὑπολειπομένων στρατιωτῶν, καὶ Ἀσκληπιόδω-
5 ρον τὸν Φίλωνος τοὺς φόρους ἐκλέγειν. Κατέ-
πεμψε δὲ καὶ ἐς Ἀρμενίαν Μιθρίνην σατράπην,
ὃς τὴν ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἀκρόπολιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐνέ-
δωκεν. Ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τοῖς Χαλδαίοις ἐνέτυχε,
καὶ ὅσα ἐδόκει Χαλδαίοις ἀμφὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ ἐν
Βαβυλῶνι ἔπραξε, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τῷ Βήλῳ καθ'
ἃ ἐκεῖνοι ἐξηγοῦντο ἔθυσεν.

6 Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Σούσων ἐστέλλετο· καὶ ἐντυγχά-
νει αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὅ τε παῖς τοῦ Σουσίων
σατράπου καὶ παρὰ Φιλοξένου ἐπιστολεύς.
Φιλόξενον γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐπὶ Σούσων
ἐστάλκει Ἀλέξανδρος. Τῇ δὲ ἐπιστολῇ τῇ παρὰ
Φιλοξένου ἐνεγέγραπτο, ὅτι τήν τε πόλιν οἱ
Σούσιοι παραδεδώκασιν καὶ τὰ χρήματα πάντα
7 σῶά ἐστιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. Ἀφίκετο δὲ ἐς Σοῦσα
Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἐν ἡμέραις εἴκοσι·
καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν τά τε χρήματα
παρέλαβεν, ὄντα ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἐς πεντα-
κισμύρια, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν τὴν βασιλι-

now not far from Babylon, and was leading his force in battle order, when the Babylonians came to meet him in mass, with their priests and chief men, each section of the inhabitants bringing gifts and offering surrender of the city, the citadel, and the treasure. Alexander entering Babylon bade the Babylonians build up again the temples which Xerxes destroyed, and especially the temple of Bel, whom the Babylonians honour before all gods. He appointed Mazaeus satrap of Babylon and Apollodorus of Amphipolis guard of the troops left behind with Mazaeus, and Asclepiodorus son of Philo to collect the taxes. He sent also as satrap to Armenia Mithrines, who had given up the acropolis of Sardis to Alexander. It was at Babylon he came across the Chaldaeans, and he carried out at Babylon all that the Chaldaeans suggested in regard to sacrifices, sacrificing especially to Bel, according to their instructions.

He himself, however, set out towards Susa, and there met him on the way the son of the satrap of Susa and a letter-carrier from Philoxenus, whom Alexander had sent to Susa directly after the battle. In Philoxenus' letter it was stated that the people of Susa had yielded up the city and that all the treasure was in safe-keeping for Alexander. In twenty days from Babylon Alexander arrived at Susa; he entered the city and took over the treasure, about fifty thousand talents of silver, and all the rest

κήν. Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα κατελήφθη αὐτοῦ, ὅσα Ξέρξης ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄγων ἦλθε, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ Ἁρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος
8 χαλκαῖ εἰκόνες. Καὶ ταύτας Ἀθηναίοις ὀπίσω πέμπει Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ νῦν κεῖνται Ἀθήνησιν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ αἱ εἰκόνες, ᾗ ἄνιμεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, καταντικρὺ μάλιστα τοῦ Μητρῴου, οὐ μακρὰν τῶν Εὐδανέμων τοῦ βωμοῦ· ὅστις δὲ μεμύηται ταῖν θεαῖν ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι, οἶδε τὸν Εὐδανέμου βωμὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ δαπέδου ὄντα.

9 Ἐνταῦθα θύσας τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ λαμπάδα ποιήσας καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικόν, καταλιπὼν σατράπην μὲν τῆς Σουσιανῆς Ἀβουλίτην, ἄνδρα Πέρσην, φρούραρχον δὲ ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῶν Σούσων Μάζαρον τῶν ἑταίρων καὶ στρατηγὸν Ἀρχέλαον τὸν Θεοδώρου, προὐχώρει ὡς ἐπὶ Πέρσας· ἐπὶ θάλασσαν δὲ κατέπεμψεν ὕπαρχον Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ Κιλικίας Μένητα.
10 Καὶ τούτῳ ἔδωκεν ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἐς τρισχίλια φέρειν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀποστεῖλαι παρ' Ἀντίπατρον ὅσων ἂν δέηται Ἀντίπατρος ἐς τὸν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πόλεμον. Ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἀμύντας ὁ Ἀνδρομένους ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει ἀφίκετο ἣν ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἦγε. Καὶ τούτων
11 τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἐς τὴν ἵππον τὴν ἑταιρικὴν κατέταξεν Ἀλέξανδρος, τοὺς πεζοὺς δὲ προσέθηκε ταῖς τάξεσι ταῖς ἄλλαις, κατὰ ἔθνη ἑκάστους ξυντάξας. Κατέστησε δὲ καὶ λόχους δύο ἐν ἑκάστῃ ἴλῃ, οὐ πρόσθεν ὄντας λόχους ἱππικούς, καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἐπέστησε τοὺς κατ' ἀρετὴν προκριθέντας ἐκ τῶν ἑταίρων.

XVII. Ἄρας δὲ ἐκ Σούσων καὶ διαβὰς τὸν

of the royal belongings. A good deal else was captured there, all that Xerxes brought back from Greece, and among this bronze statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton. These Alexander sent back to the Athenians, and they are now set up at Athens in the Cerameicus, on the way by which one ascends the Acropolis, just opposite the Metroön, not far from the altar of the Eudanemi. Anyone who has been initiated into the mysteries of the Twain Goddesses at Eleusis is aware that the altar of Eudanemos is in the plain.

There Alexander sacrificed with the traditional ceremonial, and held a torch race and an athletic contest. He left behind as satrap of the district of Susa Abulites a Persian, and as garrison commandant in the citadel of Susa, Mazarus one of the Companions, and, as general, Archelaus son of Theodorus; and then he advanced towards the Persians. Seaward he sent Menes as governor of Syria, Phoenicia and Cilicia. He gave him upwards of three thousand silver talents to take to the sea, and to send of these as much as Antipater should require for the Lacedaemonian war. There too Amyntas son of Andromenes arrived with his force which he was bringing from Macedon. Of these Alexander detailed the cavalry to join the Companions' cavalry, but the infantry he distributed among the various brigades, arranging them racially. He also formed two companies in each squadron of cavalry; there had formerly been no cavalry companies; and as captains he appointed those of the Companions distinguished for valour.

XVII. Leaving Susa and crossing the river Pasi-

Πασιτίγρην ποταμὸν ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὴν Οὐξίων γῆν. Οὐξίων δὲ οἱ μὲν τὰ πεδία οἰκοῦντες τοῦ τε σατράπου τῶν Περσῶν ἤκουον καὶ τότε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ σφᾶς ἐνέδοσαν· οἱ δὲ ὄρειοι καλούμενοι Οὔξιοι Πέρσαις τε οὐχ ὑπήκοοι ἦσαν, καὶ τότε πέμψαντες παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον οὐκ ἄλλως παρήσειν ἔφασαν τὴν ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἰόντα ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει ἢ λαβεῖν ὅσα καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Περσῶν
2 βασιλέως ἐπὶ τῇ παρόδῳ ἐλάμβανον. Καὶ τούτους ἀποπέμπει Ἀλέξανδρος, ἥκειν κελεύσας ἐπὶ τὰ στενὰ ὧν κρατοῦντες ἐπὶ σφίσιν ἐδόκουν τὴν πάροδον εἶναι τὴν ἐς Πέρσας, ἵνα καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ λάβοιεν τὰ τεταγμένα. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς σωματοφύλακας τοὺς βασιλικοὺς καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τῆς ἄλλης στρατιᾶς ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους τῆς νυκτὸς ᾔει ἄλλην ἢ τὴν
3 φανεράν, ἡγησαμένων αὐτῷ τῶν Σουσίων. Καὶ διελθὼν ὁδὸν τραχεῖαν καὶ δύσπορον ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιπίπτει ταῖς κώμαις τῶν Οὐξίων, καὶ λείαν τε πολλὴν ἔλαβε καὶ αὐτῶν ἔτι ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς ὄντων πολλοὺς κατέκτεινεν· οἱ δὲ ἀπέφυγον εἰς τὰ ὄρη. Αὐτὸς δὲ ᾔει σπουδῇ ἐπὶ τὰ στενά, ἵνα ἀπαντήσεσθαι οἱ Οὔξιοι πανδημεὶ
4 ἐδόκουν, ληψόμενοι τὰ τεταγμένα. Κράτερον δὲ ἔτι πρόσθεν ἀπέστειλε τὰ ἄκρα καταληψόμενον ἔνθα ᾤετο βιαζομένους τοὺς Οὐξίους ἀποχωρήσειν. Αὐτὸς δὲ πολλῷ τάχει ᾔει· καὶ φθάνει τε κρατήσας τῶν παρόδων καὶ ξυντεταγμένους τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔχων ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων χωρίων
5 ἐπῆγεν ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους. Οἱ δέ, τῷ τε τάχει τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐκπλαγέντες καὶ τοῖς χωρίοις, οἷς μάλιστα δὴ ἐπεποίθεσαν, πλεο-

tigres, Alexander invaded the land of the Uxians. Of these some, who dwelt in the plain lands, had obeyed the Persian satrap, and now surrendered to Alexander; but the Uxian hillmen, as they are called, had not owned allegiance to Persia, and on this occasion sent to Alexander and stated that they would on no other terms permit him to pass that way towards the Persians with his army unless they should receive what they usually received from the Persian king whenever he made a progress that way. Alexander sent them away, bidding them come to the pass; which, while they held it, made them feel that the way through into Persia was in their hands, there to receive the accustomed payment from himself also. Then he, taking with him the royal bodyguards, and the other guards, and some eight thousand of the rest of the army, during the night marched by another than the obvious road, being guided by the Susians; then passing along a rough and difficult path in one day, he fell upon the Uxian villages, captured a great deal of plunder, and slew many of them, being yet in their beds; the rest escaped to the hills. Then he marched swiftly to the pass where the Uxians were likely to oppose him in full force, in order to exact the customary toll. But he sent Craterus even further in advance, to seize the heights, whither he imagined the Uxians, if forced away, would retreat; but he himself came on at full speed and got first to the pass and held it, and with his men in due battle order he led them from a commanding position to attack the Uxians. They, however, astounded at Alexander's swiftness, and overmastered at the very position in which they had chiefly put their trust, fled without so much as

νεκτούμενοι ἔφυγον οὐδὲ εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες· καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τῇ φυγῇ ἀπέθανον, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, κρημνώδη οὖσαν· οἱ πλεῖστοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη ἀναφεύγοντες ἐμπίπτουσιν ἐς τοὺς ἀμφὶ Κρά-
6 τερον καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων ἀπώλοντο. Ταῦτα τὰ γέρα παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου λαβόντες χαλεπῶς εὕροντο δεόμενοι παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν χώραν τὴν σφῶν ἔχοντες φόρους ὅσα ἔτη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀποφέρειν. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Λάγου λέγει τὴν Δαρείου μητέρα δεηθῆναι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου δοῦναί σφισι τὴν χώραν οἰκεῖν. Ὁ φόρος δὲ ὁ συνταχθεὶς ἦν ἵπποι ἐς ἔτος ἑκατὸν καὶ ὑποζύγια πεντακόσια καὶ πρόβατα τρισμύρια· χρήματα γὰρ οὐκ ἦν Οὐξίοις οὐδὲ ἡ γῆ οἵα ἐργάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ νομεῖς αὐτῶν οἱ πολλοὶ ἦσαν.

XVIII. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα καὶ τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους καὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους τοὺς ξένους καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τοῦ στρατεύματος βαρύτερον ὡπλισμένοι [ἦσαν] ξὺν Παρμενίωνι ἐκπέμπει, ὡς ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἄγειν κατὰ
2 τὴν ἁμαξιτὸν τὴν ἐς Πέρσας φέρουσαν. Αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς πεζοὺς τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τὴν ἵππον τὴν ἑταιρικὴν καὶ τοὺς προδρόμους ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τοὺς τοξότας ᾔει σπουδῇ τὴν διὰ τῶν ὀρῶν. Ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας τὰς Περσίδας ἀφίκετο, καταλαμβάνει αὐτοῦ Ἀριοβαρζάνην τὸν Περσῶν σατράπην, πεζοὺς μὲν ἐς τετρακισμυρίους ἔχοντα, ἱππέας δὲ ἐς ἑπτακοσίους, διατετειχικότα τὰς πύλας καὶ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῷ τείχει ἐστρατοπεδευκότα, ὡς εἴργειν τῆς παρόδου Ἀλέξανδρον.

coming to close quarters. Some of them were slain by Alexander's troops in the flight, and many also beside the road, which was precipitous. The greater number, however, escaped to the hills, where they encountered Craterus' force and were by this destroyed. These then were the "gifts" they received from Alexander; and it was only with difficulty that they obtained their request from him that they might retain their own territory and pay tributes to Alexander every year. Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, however, tells us that the mother of Dareius implored Alexander on their account to give them back their territory to dwell in. The tribute appointed was a hundred horses every year with five hundred transport animals and thirty thousand sheep. For the Uxians had no money nor arable land, but they were for the most part herdsmen.

XVIII. After this, Alexander sent off the baggage trains, the Thessalian cavalry, the allies, the mercenaries, and all the other heavier-armed troops of his army with Parmenio, to lead them against the Persians by the main road which leads into their country. He himself took with him the Macedonian foot, the Companions' cavalry, the mounted scouts, the Agrianes and the archers, and marched at full speed through the hills. When he arrived at the Persian Gates he found there Ariobarzanes, the satrap of Persia,[1] with not less than forty thousand infantry and seven hundred horse, having already built a wall across the Gates and encamped there by the wall, to bar Alexander's progress.

[1] Persia here = the Province of Persia.

3 Τότε μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ κατεστρατοπεδεύσατο· τῇ
δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ξυνάξας τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπῆγε τῷ
τείχει. Ὡς δὲ ἄπορόν τε διὰ δυσχωρίαν ἐφαίνετο
αἱρεθῆναι καὶ πολλὰς πληγὰς οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν
ἐλάμβανον ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου τε χωρίου καὶ ἀπὸ
μηχανῶν βαλλόμενοι, τότε μὲν ἀποχωρεῖ ἐς τὸ
4 στρατόπεδον· τῶν δὲ αἰχμαλώτων φρασάντων
ἄλλην ὁδὸν περιάξειν αὐτόν, ὡς εἴσω παρελθεῖν
τῶν πυλῶν, ἐπεὶ τραχεῖαν τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ στενὴν
ἐπύθετο, Κράτερον μὲν αὐτοῦ καταλείπει ἐπὶ
στρατοπέδου, τήν τε αὐτοῦ τάξιν ἔχοντα καὶ τὴν
Μελεάγρου καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ὀλίγους καὶ τῶν
5 ἱππέων ἐς πεντακοσίους, καὶ προστάττει αὐτῷ,
ἐπειδὰν ἐκπεριεληλυθότα αὐτὸν αἴσθηται καὶ
προσάγοντα ἤδη τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Περσῶν
(αἰσθήσεσθαι δὲ οὐ χαλεπῶς, σημανεῖν γὰρ αὐτῷ
τὰς σάλπιγγας), τότε δὲ προσβαλεῖν τῷ τείχει·
αὐτὸς δὲ προὐχώρει νύκτωρ, καὶ διελθὼν ὅσον
ἑκατὸν σταδίους ἀναλαμβάνει τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς
καὶ τὴν Περδίκκου τάξιν καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν τοὺς
κουφοτάτους καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων
τὴν ἴλην τὴν βασιλικὴν καὶ τετραρχίαν πρὸς
ταύτῃ μίαν ἱππικήν, καὶ ξὺν τούτοις ᾔει ἐπι-
κάμψας ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἵν' οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι
6 ἦγον. Ἀμύνταν δὲ καὶ Φιλώταν καὶ Κοῖνον τὴν
ἄλλην στρατιὰν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πεδίον ἄγειν καὶ τὸν
ποταμὸν ὃν ἐχρῆν περᾶσαι ἰόντι ἐπὶ Πέρσας
γεφυροῦν ἐκέλευσεν· αὐτὸς δὲ ᾔει ὁδὸν χαλε-
πὴν καὶ τραχεῖαν καὶ ταύτην δρόμῳ τὸ πολὺ
ἦγε. Τὴν μὲν δὴ πρώτην φυλακὴν τῶν
βαρβάρων πρὶν φάους ἐπιπεσὼν διέφθειρε καὶ
7 τῶν δευτέρων τοὺς πολλούς· τῆς τρίτης δὲ οἱ

For the time being Alexander encamped there, but next day he marshalled his troops and led them to the assault of the wall. But as it appeared to be difficult to attack by reason of the awkwardness of the ground, and as his troops were suffering much damage, being assailed by volleys from commanding heights and even from catapults, he for the moment fell back on his camp. His prisoners, however, undertook to lead him round by a different road, so that he could make his way within the gates; but gathering from enquiry that this road was rough and narrow he left Craterus there in charge of the camp with his own brigade and Meleager's, a few of the archers, and about five hundred horse, bidding him, so soon as he should perceive that he himself had managed to get right round and was nearing the Persian camp (of this Craterus would easily be aware, for the buglers would signal it to him), to fall upon the Persian wall. So he advanced by night, and after traversing some hundred stades, brought up the bodyguard, with Perdiccas' brigade, the lightest armed of the archers, the Agrianes, the royal squadron of the Companions, and over and above this one double squadron of cavalry, and with them made a turning movement towards the gates, by the way in which the prisoners guided him. Amyntas, meanwhile, and Philotas and Coenus he had instructed to march the remainder of the army towards the plain, and to bridge the river [1] which he must cross to enter Persia; but he himself traversed a difficult and rough path, and yet for the most part took it at full speed. He fell upon the first Persian guard before dawn, and destroyed both this and the greater part of the second; most of the third fled, yet

[1] The Araxes.

πλείους διέφυγον, καὶ οὐδὲ οὗτοι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ἀριοβαρζάνου ἔφυγον, ἀλλ᾿ αὐτόθεν ὡς εἶχον ἐς τὰ ὄρη πεφοβημένοι, ὥστε ἔλαθεν ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω ἐπιπεσὼν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν πολεμίων. Καὶ ἅμα μὲν προσέβαλλε τῇ τάφρῳ, ἅμα δὲ αἱ σάλπιγγες ἐσήμαινον τοῖς ἀμφὶ Κράτερον,
8 καὶ Κράτερος προσῆγε τῷ προτειχίσματι. Οἱ πολέμιοι δὲ πάντοθεν ἀμφίβολοι γιγνόμενοι οὐδὲ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες ἔφυγον, ἀλλὰ πανταχόθεν γὰρ εἴργοντο, τῇ μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπικειμένου, ἄλλῃ δὲ τῶν ἀμφὶ Κράτερον παραθεόντων, ὥστε ἠναγκάσθησαν οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ τείχη ἀποστρέψαντες φεύγειν· εἴχετο δὲ καὶ τὰ τείχη πρὸς τῶν
9 Μακεδόνων ἤδη. Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ τοῦτο αὐτὸ ὅπερ ξυνέβη ὑποτοπήσας Πτολεμαῖον ἀπολελοίπει αὐτοῦ, ἔχοντα τῶν πεζῶν ἐς τρισχιλίους, ὥστε οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι τῶν βαρβάρων ἐν χερσὶ πρὸς τῶν Μακεδόνων κατεκόπησαν. οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ φυγῇ, φοβερᾷ γενομένῃ, κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ῥίψαντες ἀπώλοντο· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Ἀριοβαρζάνης ξὺν ὀλίγοις ἱππεῦσιν ἐς τὰ ὄρη ἀπέφυγεν.

10 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ σπουδῇ αὖθις ἦγεν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν, καὶ καταλαμβάνει ἤδη πεποιημένην ἐπ᾿ αὐτοῦ γέφυραν, καὶ διαβαίνει ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ εὐπετῶς. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ αὖθις σπουδῇ ἤλαυνεν ἐς Πέρσας, ὥστε ἔφθη ἀφικέσθαι πρὶν τὰ χρήματα διαρπάσασθαι τοὺς φύλακας. Ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Πασαργάδαις χρήματα ἐν τοῖς Κύρου τοῦ
11 πρώτου θησαυροῖς. Σατράπην μὲν δὴ Περσῶν κατέστησε Φρασαόρτην τὸν Ῥεομίθρου παῖδα. τὰ βασίλεια δὲ τὰ Περσικὰ ἐνέπρησε, Παρ-

not even these fled to Ariobarzanes' camp, but ran in terror from the spot just as they were to the hills; so that quite unobserved, just at dawn, he assaulted the enemy's camp. At the same moment as he attacked the trench, the bugles sounded, notifying Craterus' troops, and Craterus assaulted the wall. So the enemy, caught on all sides, never so much as came to blows, but fled; even so they were hemmed in on all sides; Alexander was pressing hard upon them here, Craterus' troops were hastening up there, so that the greater number of the Persians were forced to turn back to the walls and seek escape there. But by this time the walls themselves were in Macedonian hands. For Alexander had expected to happen just that which did happen; and so had left Ptolemy there with some three thousand infantry, so that the greatest part of the Persians were cut down by the Macedonians at close quarters. Even those who were attempting flight, and the flight had become a panic, threw themselves over the cliffs and perished; but Ariobarzanes himself with a handful of horsemen escaped to the hills.

Alexander once more at full speed led on towards the river; and he found there the bridge already made, and crossed without difficulty with his host. Thence once more at full speed he hurried on towards the Persians [1] and arrived there before the garrison had plundered the treasure. He captured also the treasure which had been at Pagarsadae [2] in the treasury of Cyrus the First. As satrap of Persepolis he appointed Phrasaortes the son of Rheomithras. The Persian palace he set on fire; [3] though Parmenio

[1] That is, to Persepolis. [2] The former capital.

[3] Arrian means deliberately. He does not agree with the usual story (Diodorus, Curtius, Plutarch).

μενίωνος σώζειν ξυμβουλεύοντος, τά τε ἄλλα [καὶ] ὅτι οὐ καλὸν αὑτοῦ κτήματα ἤδη ἀπολλύναι, καὶ ὅτι οὐχ ὡσαύτως προσέξουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἄνθρωποι, ὡς οὐδὲ αὐτῷ ἐγνωκότι κατέχειν τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ
12 ἐπελθεῖν μόνον νικῶντα. Ὁ δὲ τιμωρήσασθαι ἐθέλειν Πέρσας ἔφασκεν ἀνθ' ὧν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλάσαντες τάς τε Ἀθήνας κατέσκαψαν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐνέπρησαν, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα κακὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἰργάσαντο, ὑπὲρ τούτων δίκας λαβεῖν. Ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ σὺν νῷ δρᾶσαι τοῦτό γε Ἀλέξανδρος οὐδὲ εἶναί τις αὕτη Περσῶν τῶν πάλαι τιμωρία.

XIX. Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος προὐχώρει ἐπὶ Μηδίας· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐπυνθάνετο εἶναι Δαρεῖον. Γνώμην δὲ πεποίητο Δαρεῖος, εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ Σούσων καὶ Βαβυλῶνος μένοι Ἀλέξανδρος, αὐτοῦ προσμένειν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν Μήδοις, εἰ δή τι νεωτερισθείη τῶν ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον· εἰ δ' ἐλαύνοι ἐπ' αὐτόν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἄνω ἰέναι τὴν ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους τε καὶ Ὑρκανίαν, ἔστε ἐπὶ Βάκτρα τήν τε χώραν φθείρων πᾶσαν καὶ ἄπορον ποιῶν Ἀλεξάν-
2 δρῳ τὴν πρόσω ὁδόν. Τὰς μὲν δὴ γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τὴν ἔτι ἀμφ' αὐτὸν κατασκευὴν καὶ τὰς ἁρμαμάξας ἐπὶ τὰς Κασπίας καλουμένας πύλας πέμπει· αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει ἥτις ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ξυνείλεκτο αὐτῷ προσέμενεν ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις. Ταῦτα ἀκούων Ἀλέξανδρος προὐχώρει ἐπὶ Μηδίας. Καὶ Παραιτάκας μὲν ἐς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐμβαλὼν κατεστρέψατο καὶ σατραπεύειν ἔταξεν αὐτῶν Ὀξάθρην τὸν Ἀβουλίτου τοῦ [πρότερον] Σούσων σατράπου παῖδα·

urged him to save it, arguing, among other things, that it was not seemly to destroy what was now his own property, and that the Asians would not thus be induced to join him, if he seemed determined not to hold fast the sovereignty of Asia, but merely to pass through it in triumph. Alexander, on the contrary, replied that he proposed to punish the Persians in recompense for what they had done in their invasion of Greece; for their wrecking of Athens, their burning of the temples, and for all the other cruel things they had done to the Greeks; for these, he said, he took vengeance. Yet I do not myself think that Alexander was politic in doing this; nor can I regard it as any retribution upon the Persians of earlier days.

XIX. After this success Alexander marched towards Media, for he had learnt that Dareius was there. Dareius had determined, if Alexander should remain at Susa and Babylon, to wait there himself also, in Media, in case there should be some new move of Alexander's. But should Alexander march straight against him, he proposed to go inland towards the Parthyaeans and Hyrcania, as far as Bactra, ravaging all the country and making any further progress impossible to Alexander. The women and all the belongings he had still with him and the closed waggons he sent to what are called the Caspian gates; then he, with the force he had collected from what he had left, waited in Ecbatana. Alexander, learning this, also advanced towards Media, and subdued the Paraetacae, invading their territory, and appointed satrap over them Oxathres son of Abulites, the [former]

3 αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἠγγέλθη κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὅτι ἐγνωκὼς εἴη Δαρεῖος ἀπαντᾶν τε αὐτῷ ὡς ἐς μάχην καὶ αὖθις διακινδυνεύειν (Σκύθας τε γὰρ αὐτῷ ἥκειν καὶ Καδουσίους συμμάχους), τὰ μὲν ὑποζύγια καὶ τοὺς τούτων φύλακας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν ἕπεσθαι ἐκέλευσε· τὴν στρατιὰν δὲ τὴν ἄλλην ἀναλαβὼν ἦγεν ἐσταλμένους ὡς ἐς μάχην.
4 Καὶ ἀφικνεῖται δωδεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐς Μηδίαν. Ἔνθα ἔμαθεν οὐκ οὖσαν ἀξιόμαχον δύναμιν Δαρείῳ οὐδὲ Καδουσίους ἢ Σκύθας αὐτῷ συμμάχους ἥκοντας, ἀλλ' ὅτι φεύγειν ἐγνωκὼς εἴη Δαρεῖος· ὁ δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἦγε σπουδῇ. Ὡς δὲ ἀπεῖχεν Ἐκβατάνων ὅσον τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδόν, ἐνταῦθα ἀπήντα αὐτῷ Βισθάνης ὁ Ὤχου παῖς, τοῦ
5 πρὸ Δαρείου βασιλεύσαντος Περσῶν· καὶ οὗτος ἀπήγγειλεν ὅτι Δαρεῖος ἐς πέμπτην ἡμέραν εἴη πεφευγώς, ἔχων τά τε χρήματα ἐκ Μήδων ἐς ἑπτακισχίλια τάλαντα καὶ στρατιὰν ἱππέας μὲν ἐς τρισχιλίους, πεζοὺς δὲ ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους.

Ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Ἐκβάτανα Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς μὲν Θετταλοὺς ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ξυμμάχους ἀποπέμπει ὀπίσω ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, τόν τε μισθὸν ἀποδοὺς αὐτοῖς ἐντελῆ τὸν ξυντεταγμένον καὶ
6 δισχίλια παρ' αὐτοῦ τάλαντα ἐπιδούς· ὅστις δὲ ἰδίᾳ βούλοιτο ἔτι μισθοφορεῖν παρ' αὐτῷ, ἀπογράφεσθαι ἐκέλευσε· καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ ἀπογραψάμενοι οὐκ ὀλίγοι. Ἐπόκιλλον δὲ τὸν Πολυειδοῦς ἔταξε καταγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἱππέας ἄλλους ἔχοντα ἐς φυλακὴν αὐτῶν· οἱ γὰρ Θεσσαλοὶ τοὺς ἵππους αὐτοῦ ἀπέδοντο. Ἐπέστειλε δὲ καὶ Μένητι, ἐπειδὰν ἀφίκωνται ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἐπιμεληθῆναι ὅπως ἐπὶ τριηρῶν

satrap of Susa. Then he himself, learning on the road that Dareius had decided to give battle to him and fight it out again—for he had had an accession of Scythians and Cadusians as allies—bade the baggage trains and their keepers and all the rest of the stores to follow; and taking the rest of the army he led them marshalled for battle. On the twelfth day he reached Media. There he learned that Dareius' force was not worth fighting with and that the Cadusians and Scythians had not arrived to help him, but that Dareius had resolved on flight. On this Alexander led on all the more rapidly. But when he was about three days' journey from Ecbatana there came to meet him Bistanes son of Ochus, the predecessor of Dareius as King of Persia; and he reported that Dareius had fled five days back, with his treasure from Media of seven thousand talents and a cavalry force of three thousand and infantry about six thousand.

Arriving at Ecbatana, Alexander sent back to the sea the Thessalian cavalry and the rest of the allies, paying each the agreed pay in full, and himself making a largess of two thousand talents; but anyone who would continue to serve him for pay on his own account he ordered to be enlisted, and a great number were so enrolled. He appointed Epocillus son of Polyeides to lead the remainder seaward, with cavalry besides to guard them, for the Thessalians had sold their horses on the spot. He instructed Menes also, so soon as they should reach the coast, to see to their being embarked on transports for

7 κομισθήσονται ἐς Εὔβοιαν. Παρμενίωνα δὲ προσέταξε τὰ χρήματα τὰ ἐκ Περσῶν κομιζόμενα εἰς τὴν ἄκραν τὴν ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις καταθέσθαι καὶ Ἁρπάλῳ παραδοῦναι. Ἅρπαλον γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἀπέλιπε καὶ φυλακὴν τῶν χρημάτων Μακεδόνας ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ ἱππέας καὶ ψιλοὺς ὀλίγους· αὐτὸν δὲ Παρμενίωνα τοὺς ξένους ἀναλαβόντα καὶ τοὺς Θρᾷκας καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι ἱππεῖς ἔξω τῆς ἵππου τῆς ἑταιρικῆς παρὰ τὴν χώραν τὴν Καδουσίων ἐλαύνειν ἐς
8 Ὑρκανίαν. Κλείτῳ δὲ τῷ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἴλης ἡγεμόνι ἐπέστειλεν, ἐπειδὰν ἐκ Σούσων ἐς Ἐκβάτανα ἀφίκηται (καταλέλειπτο γὰρ ἐν Σούσοις ἀρρωστῶν), ἀναλαβόντα τοὺς Μακεδόνας τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν χρημάτων τότε ὑπολειφθέντας, ἰέναι τὴν ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ἤξειν ἔμελλεν.

XX. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τήν τε ἵππον τῶν ἑταίρων καὶ τοὺς προδρόμους καὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἱππέας, ὧν Ἐρίγυιος ἡγεῖτο, καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα τὴν Μακεδονικὴν ἔξω τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς χρήμασι ταχθέντων καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας ἤλαυνεν ὡς ἐπὶ Δαρεῖον. Καὶ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν σπουδῇ γιγνομένην τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν πολλοὶ κάμνοντες ὑπελείποντο καὶ ἵπποι ἀπέθνησκον·
2 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὣς ἦγε, καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Ῥάγας ἑνδεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ. Διέχει δὲ ὁ χῶρος οὗτος ἀπὸ τῶν Κασπίων πυλῶν ὁδὸν ἡμέρας μιᾶς ἐλαύνοντι ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ἦγε. Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐφθάκει ἤδη παρεληλυθὼς εἴσω τῶν πυλῶν τῶν Κασπίων. Τῶν δὲ ξυμφευγόντων Δαρείῳ πολλοὶ μὲν ἀπολιπόντες αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ ἐπὶ τὰ αὑτῶν ἕκαστοι ἀπεχώρουν, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ Ἀλε-

Euboea. Parmenio also he ordered to convoy the Persian treasure to the citadel in Ecbatana and hand it over to Harpalus; for he had left Harpalus in charge of the treasure, and with him as guard over the treasure some six thousand Macedonians, with cavalry and a few light auxiliaries; Parmenio himself he instructed to take the mercenaries and the Thracians and any other cavalry besides the territorial cavalry through the land of the Cadusians and march into Hyrcania. Cleitus also, the commander of the royal squadron, he ordered, so soon as he should reach Ecbatana from Susa—for he had been left at Susa sick—to take the Macedonians who had been left to guard the treasure and go towards the Parthyaeans, where he himself also proposed to go.

XX. Alexander then taking the Companions' cavalry and the mounted scouts and the mercenary horse under Erigyius, and the Macedonian phalanx, save those detailed to guard the treasure, and the archers and the Agrianes, began his march against Dareius; and by reason of the speed of his march many of his troops were left behind, worn out, and many horses died; but Alexander went on undeterred, and reached Rhagae in eleven days. This territory is one day's journey from the Caspian gates for anyone marching as Alexander did. Dareius, however, had contrived to pass already within the Caspian gates. Of those who shared his flight, many had deserted him during the flight, and had gone away to their homes, and a good number had surren-

3 ξάνδρῳ σφᾶς ἐνεδίδοσαν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἀπέγνω κατὰ πόδας αἱρήσειν Δαρεῖον, μείνας αὐτοῦ πέντε ἡμέρας καὶ ἀναπαύσας τὸν στρατόν, Μηδίας μὲν σατράπην ἀπέδειξεν Ὀξοδάτην, Πέρσην ἄνδρα, ὃς ἐτύγχανε πρὸς Δαρείου ξυνειλημμένος καὶ ἐν Σούσοις εἰργόμενος· τοῦτο αὐτῷ ἐς πίστιν ἦν πρὸς Ἀλέ-
4 ξανδρον· αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους ἦγε. Καὶ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ πρὸς ταῖς Κασπίαις πύλαις ἐστρατοπέδευσε· τῇ δευτέρᾳ δὲ εἴσω παρῆλθε τῶν πυλῶν ἔστε οἰκούμενα ἦν. Ἐπισιτισόμενος δὲ αὐτόθεν, ὅτι ἔρημον τὴν πρόσω χώραν ἤκουεν, ἐς προνομὴν ἐκπέμπει Κοῖνον ξὺν ἱππεῦσί τε καὶ τῶν πεζῶν ὀλίγοις.

XXI. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀφικνεῖται παρ' αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαρείου στρατοπέδου Βαγιστάνης, Βαβυλώνιος ἀνήρ, τῶν γνωρίμων, καὶ ξὺν τούτῳ Ἀντίβηλος τῶν Μαζαίου παίδων· οὗτοι ἀπήγγειλεν ὅτι Ναβαρζάνης τε, χιλιάρχης τῶν ξὺν Δαρείῳ φευγόντων ἱππέων, καὶ Βῆσσος ὁ Βακτρίων σατράπης καὶ Βαρσαέντης ὁ Ἀραχώτων καὶ Δράγγων σατράπης ξυνειληφότες εἶεν
2 Δαρεῖον. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἦγε σπουδῇ, τοὺς ἑταίρους μόνους ἔχων ἀμφ' αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς προδρόμους ἱππέας καὶ τῶν πεζῶν τοὺς εὐρωστοτάτους τε καὶ κουφοτάτους ἐπιλεξάμενος, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Κοῖνον προσμείνας ἐκ τῆς προνομῆς ἐπανελθεῖν. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ὑπολειπομένοις ἐπιστήσας Κράτερον προσ-
3 τάττει ἕπεσθαι[1] μὴ μακρὰς ὁδοὺς ἄγοντα. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν τὰ ὅπλα εἶχον μόνον καὶ δύο

[1] ἕπεσθαι Gronow from K.

dered to Alexander. Seeing, however, that he should not now catch Dareius by hot pursuit, Alexander remained there five days and rested his force; he appointed Oxodates satrap of Media, a Persian who had been arrested by Dareius and imprisoned at Susa; this caused Alexander to rely upon him. Alexander then marched towards the Parthyaeans, and the first day he encamped by the Caspian gates, but on the second he passed within the gates as far as the district was inhabited. Then in order to get provisions thence, since he heard that the country beyond was desert, he sent Coenus to forage with the cavalry and a few foot-soldiers.

XXI. Meanwhile there arrived to visit him one Bagistanes from Dareius' camp, a Babylonian and a noble, and with him Antibelus, one of Mazaeus' sons. They reported that Nabarzanes, commander of the cavalry which had shared Dareius' flight, and Bessus satrap of Bactria and Barsaentes satrap of the Arachotians and the Drangians, had arrested Dareius. On learning this Alexander pressed on faster than ever, with only the Companions, the mounted scouts, and the strongest and lightest of the infantry, carefully selected, and he did not await even Coenus and his men to return from their foraging. He posted Craterus to command those left behind and ordered him to follow, but not by forced marches. His own men had nothing but their arms and two days' rations.

ἡμερῶν σιτία. Ἐλθὼν δὲ τήν τε νύκτα ὅλην καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας μέχρι μεσημβρίας, ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀναπαύσας τὸν στρατὸν αὖθις ᾔει ὅλην τὴν νύκτα, καὶ ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ ὑποφαινούσῃ παρῆν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὅθεν ἀφωρμήκει ὀπίσω
4 Βαγιστάνης. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους οὐ κατέλαβε, Δαρείου δὲ πέρι ἐπύθετο, αὐτὸν μὲν συνειλημμένον ἄγεσθαι ἐφ᾽ ἁρμαμάξης, Βήσσῳ δὲ ἀντὶ Δαρείου εἶναι τὸ κράτος καὶ ἡγεμόνα ὀνομάζεσθαι Βῆσσον πρός τε τῶν Βακτρίων ἱππέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι βάρβαροι ξυνέφευγον Δαρείῳ, πλὴν Ἀρταβάζου καὶ τῶν Ἀρταβάζου παίδων καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν μισθοφόρων· τούτους δὲ πιστοὺς εἶναι Δαρείῳ, καὶ εἴργειν μὲν τὰ γιγνόμενα οὐ δυνατοὺς εἶναι, ἐκτραπέντας δὲ ἔξω τῆς λεωφόρου ὁδοῦ ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη ἰέναι κατὰ σφᾶς, οὐ μετέχοντας τοῖς ἀμφὶ Βῆσσον τοῦ
5 ἔργου. Γνώμην δὲ πεποιῆσθαι τοὺς ξυλλαβόντας Δαρεῖον, εἰ μὲν διώκοντα σφᾶς Ἀλέξανδρον πυνθάνοιντο, παραδοῦναι Δαρεῖον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ σφίσι τι ἀγαθὸν εὑρίσκεσθαι· εἰ δὲ τὸ ἔμπαλιν ἐπανεληλυθότα μάθοιεν, τοὺς δὲ στρατιάν τε ξυλλέγειν ὅσην πλείστην δύναιντο καὶ διασώζειν ἐς τὸ κοινὸν τὴν ἀρχήν. Βῆσσον δὲ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐξηγεῖσθαι κατ᾽ οἰκειότητά τε τὴν Δαρείου καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ σατραπείᾳ τὸ ἔργον ἐγίγνετο.

6 Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀνὰ κράτος διωκτέα ἐφαίνετο. Καὶ ἤδη μὲν ἐξέκαμνον οἵ τε ἄνδρες καὶ οἱ ἵπποι ἐπὶ τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ τῇ ξυνεχεῖ· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὣς ἦγε, καὶ διελθὼν ὁδὸν πολλὴν τῆς τε νυκτὸς καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἡμέρας

Travelling all night and the next day till noon, he rested his troops a short time and then again hurried on all night, and at dawn he reached the camp, whence Bagistanes had come. But he did not catch the enemy; about Dareius he learnt that he had indeed been arrested and was being carried in a closed waggon, and that Bessus had been given the sovereignty in place of Dareius and had been saluted as leader by the Bactrian cavalry and the other Persians who had fled with Dareius, save Artabazus and his sons and the Greek mercenaries. These, he learnt, remained faithful to Dareius, but being unable to prevent what had occurred had turned off the main road and were making for the hills by themselves, refusing to participate in the action of Bessus and his followers. Those who had seized Dareius had decided that if they should learn that Alexander was pursuing them they would give up Dareius to Alexander and make good terms for themselves. Should they learn that Alexander had turned back they would collect as large an army as they could and join in preserving their empire. Bessus was in command for the time being both from his relationship to Dareius and because this event took place in his satrapy.

Learning this, Alexander decided that he must pursue with the utmost vigour. Already his men and horses were growing utterly wearied beneath this continued exertion; none the less, Alexander pressed on, and accomplishing a great distance during the

ἔστε ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν ἀφικνεῖται ἔς τινα κώμην, ἵνα τῇ προτεραίᾳ ἐστρατοπεδεύκεσαν οἱ Δαρεῖον
7 ἄγοντες. Ἐνταῦθα ἀκούσας ὅτι νυκτὸς ποιεῖσθαι τὴν πορείαν ἐγνωσμένον εἴη τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἤλεγχε τοὺς προσχώρους εἰ δή τινα εἰδεῖεν ἐπιτομωτέραν ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας. Οἱ δὲ εἰδέναι μὲν ἔφασαν, ἐρήμην δὲ εἶναι τὴν ὁδὸν δι᾽ ἀνυδρίαν. Ὁ δὲ ταύτην ἄγειν ἐκέλευσε· καὶ γνοὺς ὅτι οὐχ ἕψονται οἱ πεζοὶ αὐτῷ σπουδῇ ἐλαύνοντι, τῶν μὲν ἱππέων ἐς πεντακοσίους κατεβίβασεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων· τοὺς ἡγεμόνας δὲ τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιλεξάμενος τοὺς κρατιστεύοντας ἐπιβῆναι τῶν ἵππων ἐκέλευσεν οὕτως
8 ὅπως οἱ πεζοὶ ὡπλισμένοι ἦσαν. Νικάνορα δὲ τὸν τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἡγεμόνα καὶ Ἄτταλον τὸν τῶν Ἀγριάνων κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἥντινα οἱ ἀμφὶ Βῆσσον προυκεχωρήκεσαν τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἄγειν ἐκέλευσε, καὶ τούτους ὡς κουφότατα ἐσταλμένους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους πεζοὺς ἐν τάξει ἕπεσθαι.
9 Αὐτὸς δὲ ἀμφὶ δείλην ἄγειν ἀρξάμενος δρόμῳ ἡγεῖτο· διελθὼν δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς σταδίους ἐς τετρακοσίους ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω ἐπιτυγχάνει τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀτάκτως ἰοῦσι καὶ ἀνόπλοις, ὥστε ὀλίγοι μέν τινες αὐτῶν ὡς ἀμυνούμενοι ὥρμησαν· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ εὐθὺς ὡς Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸν κατεῖδον, οὐδὲ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες ἔφευγον· καὶ οἱ τραπέντες ἐς ἀλκὴν ὀλίγων πεσόντων καὶ οὗτοι ἔφυγον.
10 Βῆσσος δὲ καὶ οἱ ξὺν αὐτῷ τέως μὲν ἐφ᾽ ἁρμαμάξης Δαρεῖον μετὰ σφῶν ἐκόμιζον· ὡς δὲ ὁμοῦ ἤδη ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος, Δαρεῖον μὲν Ναβαρζάνης καὶ Βαρσαέντης κατατρώσαντες αὐτοῦ ἀπέλιπον·

night and the following day till noon, he arrived at a village where the day before Dareius' conductors had bivouacked. Hearing there that the Persians had determined to continue their journey by night, he enquired of the inhabitants whether they knew of any shorter way to take him to the fugitives. They replied that they did; but that the road was desolate, having no water. But he bade them lead on by this road, and seeing that his infantry would not keep up with him if he pushed on at full speed, he dismounted some five hundred horsemen, and selecting from the officers of the infantry and the rest those whose strength was best maintained, he bade them mount the horses, carrying their usual infantry arms. Nicanor the commander of the bodyguard, and Attalus commander of the Agrianes, he ordered to lead those who were left behind along the road by which Bessus and his party had already proceeded; these were to travel in the lightest possible order, and the rest of the infantry was to follow in ordinary formation. Alexander then himself started off at dusk, and led on his troops at full speed; during the night he traversed some four hundred stades, and just at dawn came upon the Persians marching at ease and without arms, so that only a few of them turned to hinder his passage, but the greater part, as soon as ever they saw Alexander himself, not waiting to come to close quarters, took to flight; those who turned to make a fight of it, on losing a few of their number, also fled. Bessus and his immediate followers for a time took Dareius with them in the closed waggon; but when Alexander was now right upon them, Nabarzanes and Barsaentes wounded him and left him where he was, themselves escaping

αὐτοὶ δὲ ἔφυγον σὺν ἱππεῦσιν ἑξακοσίοις. Δαρεῖος δὲ ἀποθνήσκει ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων πρὶν ὀφθῆναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ.

XXII. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὸ μὲν σῶμα τοῦ Δαρείου ἐς Πέρσας ἔπεμψε, θάψαι κελεύσας ἐν ταῖς βασιλικαῖς θήκαις, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ πρὸ Δαρείου βασιλεῖς· σατράπην δὲ ἀπέδειξε Παρθυαίων καὶ Ὑρκανίων Ἀμμινάπην Παρθυαῖον· ἦν δὲ οὗτος τῶν Αἴγυπτον ἐνδόντων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μετὰ Μαζάκου. Τληπόλεμος δὲ Πυθοφάνους τῶν ἑταίρων ξυνετάχθη αὐτῷ σκοπεῖν τὰ ἐν Παρθυαίοις τε καὶ Ὑρκανίοις.

2 Τοῦτο τὸ τέλος Δαρείῳ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοις Ἀριστοφῶντος μηνὸς Ἑκατομβαιῶνος, ἀνδρὶ τὰ μὲν πολέμια, εἴπερ τινὶ ἄλλῳ, μαλθακῷ τε καὶ οὐ φρενήρει, εἰς δὲ τἄλλα οὐδὲν ἀνεπιεικὲς ἔργον ἀποδειξαμένῳ ἢ οὐδὲ ἐγγενόμενον αὐτῷ ἀποδείξασθαι, ὅτι ὁμοῦ μὲν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν παρελθεῖν, ὁμοῦ δὲ προσπολεμεῖσθαι πρός τε Μακεδόνων καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ξυνέβη. Οὔκουν οὐδὲ ἐθέλοντι ἐξῆν ἔτι ὑβρίζειν ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους, ἐν μείζονι κινδύνῳ ἤπερ ἐκεῖνοι καθεστηκότι.

3 Ζῶντι μὲν δὴ ξυμφοραὶ αὐτῷ ἄλλαι ἐπ' ἄλλαις ξυνηνέχθησαν, οὐδέ τις ἀνακωχὴ ἐγένετο ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν παρῆλθεν· ἀλλὰ εὐθὺς μὲν τὸ τῶν σατραπῶν ἐπὶ Γρανικῷ πταῖσμα ξυνέβη τὸ ἱππικόν, εὐθὺς δὲ Ἰωνία τε καὶ Αἰολὶς εἴχοντο καὶ Φρύγες ἀμφότεροι καὶ Λυδία καὶ Κᾶρες πλὴν

4 Ἁλικαρνασσέων· ὀλίγον δὲ ὕστερον καὶ Ἁλικαρνασσὸς ἐξῄρητο, ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ παραλία πᾶσα ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν Κιλικίαν· ἔνθεν δὲ ἡ αὐτοῦ ἐπ' Ἰσσῷ ἧσσα, ἵνα τήν τε μητέρα αἰχμαλωτισθεῖσαν καὶ

with six hundred horsemen. Dareius died of his wound soon after, and before Alexander had seen him.

XXII. Alexander sent Dareius' body to Persepolis, ordering it to be buried in the royal tomb, as were the other kings before Dareius. He appointed as satrap of the Parthyaeans and Hyrcanians, Amminaspes, a Parthyaean; he was one of those who, with Mazacus, had surrendered Egypt to Alexander. Tlepolemus son of Pythophanes, one of the Companions, was appointed overseer of Parthyaea and Hyrcania.

Thus died Dareius, when Aristophon was archon at Athens and in the month Hecatombaeon.[1] He was a man above all weak and incapable in warfare; but in other regards he had given proof of no harsh act, or perhaps had no chance to do so, since the moment of his accession was also the moment of the declaration of war by Macedon and Greece. Even had he desired, therefore, he had no chance to play the tyrant over his subjects, being set in the midst of greater dangers than they. His life was one series of disasters, nor, from his accession, had he any respite; at once there befell the cavalry disaster of his satraps on the Granicus, and then at once Ionia and Aeolis were in the enemy's hands, with Greater and Lesser Phrygia, Lydia, and Caria save Halicarnassus; soon followed the capture of Halicarnassus, and over and above all the coast-line as far as Cilicia. Next came his defeat at Issus, where he beheld his mother made captive with his wife and

[1] 330 B.C., July.

τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐπεῖδεν· ἐπὶ τῷδε Φοινίκη τε ἀπώλετο καὶ Αἴγυπτος πᾶσα· ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτὸς ἐν Ἀρβήλοις ἔφυγέ τε ἐν πρώτοις αἰσχρῶς καὶ στρατιὰν πλείστην παντὸς τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ
5 γένους ἀπώλεσε· φυγάς τε ἐκ τούτου τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρχῆς πλανώμενος, καὶ τελευτῶν πρὸς τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα προδοθείς, βασιλεύς τε ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ δεσμώτης ξὺν ἀτιμίᾳ ἀγόμενος, τέλος δὲ πρὸς τῶν οἰκειοτάτων ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ἀπώλετο. Ζῶντι μὲν Δαρείῳ τοιαῦτα ξυνηνέχθη· τελευτήσαντι δὲ ταφή τε ἡ βασιλικὴ καὶ τῶν παίδων ὁποία καὶ βασιλεύοντος αὐτοῦ τροφή τε Ἀλεξάνδρου[1] καὶ παίδευσις, καὶ γαμβρὸς Ἀλέξανδρος. Ὁπότε δὲ ἐτελεύτα ἐγεγόνει ἀμφὶ τὰ πεντήκοντα ἔτη.

XXIII. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἐν τῇ διώξει τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀναλαβὼν ἐς Ὑρκανίαν προὐχώρει. Κεῖται δὲ ἡ Ὑρκανία χώρα ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐπὶ Βάκτρα φερούσης· καὶ τῇ μὲν ὄρεσιν ἀπείργεται δασέσι καὶ ὑψηλοῖς, τὸ πεδίον δὲ αὐτῆς καθήκει ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην τὴν ταύτῃ θάλασσαν. Ταύτην δὲ ἦγεν, ὅτι ταύτῃ τοὺς ξένους τοὺς ἀμφὶ Δαρεῖον διαπεφευγέναι ἐς τὰ τῶν Ταπούρων ὄρη ἐπύθετο καὶ αὐτοὺς
2 ἅμα τοὺς Ταπούρους χειρωσόμενος. Τριχῇ δὴ διελὼν τὸν στρατὸν αὐτὸς μὲν τὴν ἐπιτομωτάτην καὶ χαλεπωτάτην ἡγήσατο, τὸ πλεῖστον καὶ ἅμα τὸ κουφότατον τῆς δυνάμεως ἄγων· Κράτερον δὲ τήν τε αὐτοῦ τάξιν ἔχοντα καὶ τὴν Ἀμύντου καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ἔστιν οὓς καὶ ὀλίγους τῶν ἱππέων ἐπὶ Ταπούρων ἔστειλεν· Ἐρίγυιον δὲ τούς τε

[1] παρ' Ἀλεξ. Schmieder.

children; then Phoenicia and all Egypt was lost; and then again followed his own flight at Arbela, a shameful flight among the foremost, and his loss of the greatest host of all the Persian Empire; and now a fugitive from his own kingdom, and a vagabond, at last he was betrayed by his own guards to the worst of fates, both king and prisoner, hurried off with every mark of shame and finally perishing by conspiracy of those who were most bound in duty to him. These were the tragedies of Dareius' life. His lot in death was the royal tomb, his children nurtured and educated by Alexander as if he were still on the throne, and Alexander for his daughter's bridegroom. At his death he had reached about fifty years of age.

XXIII. Alexander, taking over those of his force who had been left behind in the pursuit, advanced into Hyrcania. This country lies on the left of the road leading to Bactria; on the one hand it is bounded by high and wooded mountains, but the plain land in it stretches to the Great Sea which lies this way.[1] Alexander marched in this direction because he found out that the mercenaries who had been with Dareius had escaped this way to the Tapurian hills; besides, he intended also to subdue the Tapurians themselves. He divided his army into three parts, and himself led on by the shortest and hardest road with the greater part, and the lightest armed also, of his force; but Craterus with his own brigade and that of Amyntas, some of the archers, and a few horsemen, he sent against the Tapurians. Erigyius, on the

[1] The Caspian.

ξένους καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν ἵππον ἀναλαβόντα τὴν λεωφόρον τε καὶ μακροτέραν ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευσε, τὰς ἁμάξας καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ὅμιλον ἄγοντα.

3 Ὑπερβαλὼν δὲ τὰ πρῶτα ὄρη καὶ καταστρατοπεδεύσας αὐτοῦ, ἀναλαβὼν τούς τε ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τῆς Μακεδονικῆς φάλαγγος τοὺς κουφοτάτους καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ἔστιν οὕς, ᾔει χαλεπὴν ὁδὸν καὶ δύσπορον, φύλακας τῶν ὁδῶν καταλιπὼν ἵνα σφαλερόν τι αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο, ὡς μὴ τοῖς ἑπομένοις κατ' ἐκεῖνο ἐπίθοιντο οἱ τὰ ὄρη ἔχοντες τῶν
4 βαρβάρων. Αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν τοξοτῶν διελθὼν τὰ στενὰ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κατεστρατοπέδευσε πρὸς ποταμῷ οὐ μεγάλῳ. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὄντος αὐτοῦ Ναβαρζάνης τε ὁ Δαρείου χιλιάρχης καὶ Φραταφέρνης ὁ Ὑρκανίας τε καὶ Παρθυαίων σατράπης καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ἀμφὶ Δαρεῖον Περσῶν οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι ἀφικόμενοι παρέδοσαν σφᾶς αὐτούς.
5 Ὑπομείνας δὲ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τέσσαρας ἡμέρας ἀνέλαβε τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀσφαλῶς διελθόντας, τοῖς δὲ Ἀγριᾶσιν ὀπισθοφυλακοῦσιν ἐπέθεντο οἱ ὄρειοι τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ μεῖον ἔχοντες τῷ ἀκροβολισμῷ ἀπηλλάγησαν.

6 Ἄρας δὲ ἐντεῦθεν προῄει ὡς ἐφ' Ὑρκανίας εἰς Ζαδράκαρτα, πόλιν Ὑρκανίων. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ περὶ Κράτερον συνέμιξαν αὐτῷ, τοῖς μὲν ξένοις τοῖς Δαρείου οὐκ ἐντετυχηκότες, τὴν χώραν δὲ ὅσην διαπεπορευμένοι ἦσαν τὴν μὲν βίᾳ, τὴν δὲ ἐνδιδόντων τῶν κατοικούντων προσπεποιημένοι. Ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἐρίγυιος ἧκε ξὺν τοῖς σκευοφόροις
7 καὶ ταῖς ἁμάξαις. Ὀλίγον δὲ ὕστερον Ἀρτάβαζος

other hand, he ordered to take the mercenaries and the rest of the cavalry and bring them along the high-road, which was longer, convoying the waggons, the baggage trains, and the rest of the host.

After he had crossed the first hills and had en camped there, Alexander took the bodyguard and the lightest armed of the Macedonian phalanx and some of the archers, and marched along a rough and difficult road, leaving behind troops to guard the roads where he thought there was danger, so that the enemy who held the heights might not at any such spot attack those who were coming after. He himself with the archers crossed the pass and camped in the plain by a small river. While he was there, Nabarzanes, Dareius' cavalry general, and Phrataphernes the satrap of Hyrcania and Parthyaea and other most highly placed Persian officers of Dareius, came and gave themselves up. After waiting four days in the camp, he picked up those who had been left behind on the march, most of whom crossed with safety; the native hillmen, however, had attacked the Agrianes, who were the rearguard, but getting the worst of a long range skirmish withdrew.

Moving thence Alexander advanced towards Hyrcania to Zadracarta, a city of the Hyrcanians. Meanwhile Craterus and his troops had joined him; they had not fallen in with Dareius' mercenaries, but they had, partly by force and partly by the surrender of the natives, taken over all such territory as they had traversed. There also Erigyius arrived with the baggage trains and the waggons. Soon after, Arta-

ἀφίκετο παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ Κωφὴν καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνης καὶ Ἀρσάμης καὶ ξὺν τούτοις παρὰ τῶν ξένων τῶν ξὺν Δαρείῳ πρέσβεις καὶ Αὐτοφραδάτης ὁ Ταπούρων σατράπης. Αὐτοφραδάτῃ μὲν δὴ τὴν σατραπείαν ἀπέδωκεν, Ἀρτάβαζον δὲ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἅμα οἷ ἐν τιμῇ ἦγε, τά τε ἄλλα ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις Περσῶν ὄντας καὶ τῆς
8 ἐς Δαρεῖον πίστεως ἕνεκα. Τοῖς πρέσβεσι δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δεομένοις σπείσασθαί σφισιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ παντὸς ξενικοῦ ἀπεκρίνατο, ὁμολογίαν μὲν οὐκ ἂν ποιήσεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς οὐδεμίαν· ἀδικεῖν γὰρ μεγάλα τοὺς στρατευομένους ἐναντία τῇ Ἑλλάδι παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις παρὰ τὰ δόγματα[1] τὰ Ἑλλήνων· ἐκέλευσε δὲ ἥκειν ξύμπαντας καὶ παραδιδόναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπιτρέποντας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ χρῆσθαι ὅ τι καὶ βούλοιτο
9 ἢ σώζεσθαι ὅπῃ δύναιντο. Οἱ δὲ ἐπιτρέπειν ἔφασαν σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· ξυμπέμπειν τε ἐκέλευον τὸν ἡγησόμενον αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἀσφαλῶς διακομισθεῖεν παρ' αὐτόν· εἶναι δὲ ἐλέγοντο ἐς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος πέμπει Ἀνδρόνικον τὸν Ἀγέρρου καὶ Ἀρτάβαζον παρ' αὐτούς.

XXIV. Αὐτὸς δὲ προῆγεν ὡς ἐπὶ Μάρδους, ἀναλαβὼν τούς τε ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τὴν Κοίνου καὶ Ἀμύντου τάξιν καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων ἱππέων τοὺς ἡμίσεας καὶ τοὺς ἱππακοντιστάς· ἤδη γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ ἱππακοντισταὶ
2 τάξις ἦσαν. Ἐπελθὼν δὲ τὸ πολὺ μέρος τῆς χώρας τῶν Μάρδων πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν

[1] τὰ after δόγματα added by Dübner.

bazus came to join Alexander, and of his sons Cophen and Ariobarzanes and Arsames, and with them envoys from the mercenaries who had been with Dareius and Autophradates, satrap of the Tapurians. To Autophradates Alexander handed over the satrapy; but Artabazus and his sons he kept by him in honourable positions, especially as they were among the highest of the Persians and because of their loyalty towards Dareius. To the envoys of the Greeks, however, who begged him to grant them terms for the whole mercenary force, he replied that he would make no compact with them whatever; those who fought with foreigners against Greeks were doing grievous wrong, and flying in the face of Greek traditions. But he bade them come in a body and surrender themselves, leaving it to him, Alexander, to do what he would with them, or, if not, take what steps they could for their own safety. They replied that they placed themselves and the rest in Alexander's hands; and bade him send an officer to lead them, that they might have safe conduct to his camp. They were reckoned to be about one thousand five hundred. Alexander sent Andronicus, son of Agerrhus, and Artabazus to them.

XXIV. Then he himself proceeded against the Mardians, taking the bodyguards, the archers, the Agrianes, the brigades of Coenus and Amyntas, half of the Companions' cavalry, and the mounted javelin-men, for by this time he had a brigade of these. Passing through the greater part of the Mardian country, he slew many of them attempting to escape,

αὐτῶν φεύγοντας, οὓς δέ τινας ἐς ἀλκὴν τετραμμένους, πολλοὺς δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβεν. Οὐ γάρ ἔστιν ὅστις χρόνου ἐμβεβλήκει ἐς τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ διά τε δυσχωρίαν καὶ ὅτι πένητες οἱ Μάρδοι καὶ μάχιμοι ἐπὶ τῇ πενίᾳ ἦσαν. Οὔκουν οὐδὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐμβαλεῖν ἄν ποτε δείσαντες, ἄλλως τε καὶ προκεχωρηκότα ἤδη ἐς τὸ πρόσω, ταύτῃ μᾶλλόν τι ἀφύλακτοι ἡλίσκοντο.
3 Πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐς τὰ ὄρη κατέφυγον, ἃ δὴ ὑπερύψηλά τε καὶ ἀπότομα αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐστίν, ὡς πρὸς ταῦτά γε οὐχ ἥξοντα Ἀλέξανδρον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ταύτῃ προσῆγεν, οἱ δὲ πέμψαντες πρέσβεις σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς ἐνέδοσαν καὶ τὴν χώραν· καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀφῆκε, σατράπην δὲ ἀπέδειξεν αὐτῶν Αὐτοφραδάτην, ὅνπερ καὶ Ταπούρων.

4 Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπανελθὼν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔνθενπερ ὡρμήθη ἐς τῶν Μάρδων τὴν γῆν, κατέλαβε τοὺς Ἕλληνας τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἥκοντας καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις οἳ παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον ἐπρέσβευον, Καλλικρατίδαν τε καὶ Παύσιππον καὶ Μόνιμον καὶ Ὀνόμαντα, καὶ Ἀθηναίων Δρωπίδην. Τούτους μὲν δὴ ξυλλαβὼν ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχε. Τοὺς Σινωπέων δὲ ἀφῆκεν, ὅτι Σινωπεῖς οὔτε τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μετεῖχον, ὑπὸ Πέρσαις τε τεταγμένοι οὐκ ἀπεικότα ποιεῖν ἐδόκουν παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα σφῶν πρεσβεύοντες.
5 Ἀφῆκε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι πρὸ τῆς εἰρήνης τε καὶ τῆς ξυμμαχίας τῆς πρὸς Μακεδόνας γενομένης παρὰ Πέρσαις ἐμισθοφόρουν, καὶ Καλχηδονίων Ἡρακλείδην τὸν πρεσβευτὴν ἀφῆκε· τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ξυστρατεύεσθαί

and some turning to bay; a great number he captured alive. For no one had for a long time invaded their country, owing to the difficulties of transit, and because the Mardians were both poor and, besides being poor, warlike. So they never imagined that Alexander would have invaded their country, especially as he had already marched far out of his course, and thus were all the more caught unprepared. But many of them took refuge in the hills also, which are very lofty and precipitous in their country; feeling sure that Alexander would not reach so far as that. But when he did approach even in this direction, they sending envoys surrendered themselves and their country; and Alexander dismissed them, and appointed as their satrap Autophradates, also made satrap of the Tapurians.

He himself returned to the camp whence he had set out to the Mardian territory, and received the mercenary Greeks who had arrived, and the Lacedaemonians' envoys who were on an embassy to the court of King Dareius, namely, Callicratides, Pausippus, Monimus, and Onomas, and, of the Athenians, Dropides. These he seized and kept under arrest. The envoys from Sinope he dismissed since the Sinopeans were not part of the Greek comity of nations, but being subject to Persia did not appear to have done anything outrageous in going as envoys to their own suzerain. Of the remaining Greeks he dismissed so many as before the peace and the conclusion of the alliance with Macedon had been serving with the Persian force; he dismissed also Heracleides, envoy of the Calchedonians; the rest he commanded

οἱ ἐπὶ μισθῷ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐκέλευσε· καὶ ἐπέταξεν αὐτοῖς Ἀνδρόνικον, ὅσπερ ἤγαγέ τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔνδηλος γεγόνει οὐ φαῦλον ποιούμενος σῶσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας.

XXV. Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος ἦγεν ὡς ἐπὶ Ζαδράκαρτα, τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν τῆς Ὑρκανίας, ἵνα καὶ τὰ βασίλεια τοῖς Ὑρκανίοις ἦν. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα διατρίψας ἡμέρας πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς ὡς νόμος καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν ποιήσας ὡς ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους ἦγεν· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς Ἀρείας ὅρια καὶ Σουσίαν, πόλιν τῆς Ἀρείας, ἵνα καὶ Σατιβαρζάνης ἧκε παρ' αὐτὸν
2 ὁ τῶν Ἀρείων σατράπης· τούτῳ μὲν δὴ τὴν σατραπείαν ἀποδοὺς ξυμπέμπει αὐτῷ Ἀνάξιππον τῶν ἑταίρων, δοὺς αὐτῷ τῶν ἱππακοντιστῶν ἐς τεσσαράκοντα, ὡς ἔχοι φύλακας καθιστάναι τῶν τόπων, τοῦ μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι τοὺς Ἀρείους πρὸς τῆς στρατιᾶς κατὰ τὴν πάροδον.

3 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀφικνοῦνται παρ' αὐτὸν Περσῶν τινές, οἳ ἤγγελλον Βῆσσον τήν τε τιάραν ὀρθὴν ἔχειν καὶ τὴν Περσικὴν στολὴν φοροῦντα Ἀρταξέρξην τε καλεῖσθαι ἀντὶ Βήσσου καὶ βασιλέα φάσκειν εἶναι τῆς Ἀσίας· ἔχειν τε ἀμφ' αὐτὸν Περσῶν τε τοὺς ἐς Βάκτρα διαφυγόντας καὶ αὐτῶν Βακτριανῶν πολλούς· προσδοκᾶσθαι δὲ ἥξειν αὐτῷ καὶ Σκύθας ξυμμάχους.

4 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁμοῦ ἤδη ἔχων τὴν πᾶσαν δύναμιν ᾔει ἐπὶ Βάκτρων, ἵνα καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ Μενελάου παρ' αὐτὸν ἀφίκετο ἐκ Μηδίας, ἔχων τούς τε μισθοφόρους ἱππέας, ὧν ἡγεῖτο αὐτός, καὶ Θεσσαλῶν τοὺς ἐθελοντὰς ὑπομείναντας καὶ τοὺς ξένους τοὺς Ἀνδρομάχου. Νικάνωρ δὲ ὁ

to serve under him at the same rate of pay; and he set Andronicus over them, who had led them and had made it evident that he had made it a matter of considerable moment to preserve his men.

XXV. When he had put all this in order he marched towards Zadracarta, the greatest city of Hyrcania, where was also the Hyrcanian palace. There he spent fifteen days, and sacrificed to the gods as custom directed, and held an athletic contest, and then he marched towards the Parthyaeans, and thence to the borders of Areia and Sousia, a city of Areia, where also Satibarzanes met him, the satrap of the Areians. Alexander confirmed him in his satrapy, and sent with him Anaxippus of the Companions, giving him about forty of the mounted javelin-men, so that he might have guards to set at various places, and that the Areians might not suffer harm from the army on the passage.

Meanwhile certain Persians met Alexander, reporting that Bessus was wearing his cap royal fashion [1] and clothing himself in Persian royal garb,[2] called himself Artaxerxes instead of Bessus, and gave out that he was King of Asia. He had about him, they said, those Persians who had fled safe to Bactria and a good number of the Bactrians themselves; and he expected that Scythian allies would also join him.

Alexander with his whole force now reassembled advanced to Bactria, where Philip son of Menelaus met him from Media with the mercenary cavalry led by himself and the Thessalian volunteers, who had remained behind, and those under Andromachus.

[1] The conical Persian cap was worn with the apex drooping by all but the King.
[2] A purple tunic with white stripes.

Παρμενίωνος ὁ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἄρχων τετελευ-
5 τήκει ἤδη νόσῳ. Ἰόντι δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν ἐπὶ
Βάκτρα ἐξηγγέλθη Σατιβαρζάνης ὁ Ἀρείων
σατράπης Ἀνάξιππον μὲν καὶ ἱππακοντιστὰς
τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἀπεκτονώς, ὁπλίζων δὲ τοὺς
Ἀρείους καὶ ξυνάγων εἰς Ἀρτακόανα πόλιν, ἵνα
τὸ βασίλειον ἦν τῶν Ἀρείων· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὅτι
ἔγνωκεν, ἐπειδὰν προκεχωρηκότα Ἀλέξανδρον
πύθηται, ἰέναι ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει παρὰ Βῆσσον,
ὡς ξὺν ἐκείνῳ ἐπιθησόμενος ὅπῃ ἂν τύχῃ τοῖς
6 Μακεδόσι. Ταῦτα ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη αὐτῷ, τὴν μὲν
ἐπὶ Βάκτρα ὁδὸν οὐκ ἦγεν· ἀναλαβὼν δὲ τούς
τε ἑταίρους ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς ἱππακοντιστὰς καὶ
τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τὴν Ἀμύντου
τε καὶ Κοίνου τάξιν, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην δύναμιν αὐτοῦ
καταλιπὼν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ Κράτερον ἡγεμόνα,
σπουδῇ ἦγεν ὡς ἐπὶ Σατιβαρζάνην τε καὶ τοὺς
Ἀρείους, καὶ διελθὼν ἐν δυσὶν ἡμέραις σταδίους
ἐς ἑξακοσίους πρὸς Ἀρτακόανα ἧκε.

7 Σατιβαρζάνης μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἔγνω ἐγγὺς ὄντα
Ἀλέξανδρον, τῇ ὀξύτητι τῆς ἐφόδου ἐκπλαγεὶς
ξὺν ὀλίγοις ἱππεῦσι τῶν Ἀρείων ἔφυγε· πρὸς γὰρ
τῶν πολλῶν στρατιωτῶν κατελείφθη ἐν τῇ φυγῇ,
ὡς κἀκεῖνοι ἔμαθον προσάγοντα Ἀλέξανδρον.
Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ὅσους ξυναιτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως
κατέμαθε καὶ ἐν τῷ τότε ἀπολελοιπότας τὰς
κώμας, τούτους δὲ ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ, ὀξείας τὰς
διώξεις ποιησάμενος, τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς
δὲ ἠνδραπόδισε· σατράπην δὲ Ἀρείων ἀπέδειξεν
8 Ἀρσάμην, ἄνδρα Πέρσην. Αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τοῖς
ἀμφὶ Κράτερον ὑπολελειμμένοις, ὁμοῦ οὖσιν
ἤδη, ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ζαραγγαίων χώραν ἦγε· καὶ

Nicanor, however, son of Parmenio, commander of the bodyguards, had already died of sickness. But as Alexander advanced towards Bactria, news was brought that Satibarzanes, satrap of Areia, had massacred Anaxippus and the mounted javelin-men with him, and was arming the Areians and leading them in a body to the city Artacoana, where was the palace of the Areians; and that he had decided, on learning that Alexander had advanced forward, to go thence with his troops to Bessus, and with him to attack the Macedonians where opportunity should offer. When this was reported to Alexander he did not continue his march to Bactria; but he took the Companions' cavalry, the mounted javelin-men, the archers, the Agrianes, and Amyntas' and Coenus' brigades, and leaving behind there the rest of the army and Craterus in charge, he advanced swiftly against Satibarzanes and the Areians, and traversing in two days the distance of six hundred stades arrived at Artacoana.

Satibarzanes for his part, learning of Alexander's proximity and astounded at the swiftness of his approach, fled with a few Areian horsemen; for in his flight he had been deserted by the majority of his soldiers, since they too learnt that Alexander was pressing on towards him. So many as Alexander found to have had a hand in the revolt and had at the time deserted their villages, with swift pursuits, he slew some here, some there, others he enslaved. As satrap of Areia he appointed Arsames a Persian. He then with the force left under Craterus, which had now joined him, marched towards the territory of the

ἀφικνεῖται ἵνα τὰ βασίλεια τῶν Ζαραγγαίων ἦν. Βαρσαέντης δέ, ὃς τότε κατεῖχε τὴν χώραν, εἷς ὢν τῶν ξυνεπιθεμένων Δαρείῳ ἐν τῇ φυγῇ, προσιόντα Ἀλέξανδρον μαθὼν ἐς Ἰνδοὺς τοὺς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔφυγε. Ξυλλαβόντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰνδοὶ παρ᾽ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπέστειλαν· καὶ ἀποθνήσκει πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου τῆς ἐς Δαρεῖον ἀδικίας ἕνεκα.

XXVI. Ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὴν Φιλώτα ἐπιβουλὴν τοῦ Παρμενίωνος ἔμαθεν Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ λέγει Πτολεμαῖος καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος ὅτι προηγγελμένην[1] ἤδη οἱ καὶ πρότερον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, οὐ μέντοι πιστή γε ἐφάνη τῆς τε φιλίας τῆς πάλαι εἵνεκα καὶ τῆς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐς Παρμενίωνά τε τὸν πατέρα τὸν Φιλώτα τιμῆς καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν Φιλώταν
2 πίστεως. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Λάγου λέγει εἰσαχθῆναι ἐς Μακεδόνας Φιλώταν· καὶ κατηγορῆσαι μὲν αὐτοῦ ἰσχυρῶς Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀπολογήσασθαι δὲ αὐτὸν Φιλώταν· καὶ τοὺς ἐπιμηνυτὰς τοῦ ἔργου παρελθόντας ἐξελέγξαι Φιλώταν τε καὶ τοὺς ἀμφ᾽ αὐτὸν ἄλλοις τε ἐλέγχοις οὐκ ἀφανέσι καὶ μάλιστα δὴ ὅτι αὐτὸς Φιλώτας πεπύσθαι μὲν ἐπιβουλήν τινα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παρασκευαζομένην συνέφη, ἐξηλέγχετο δὲ κατασιωπήσας ταύτην πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, καίτοι δὶς ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν
3 ὁσημέραι τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου φοιτῶν. Καὶ Φιλώταν μὲν κατακοντισθῆναι πρὸς τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι μετέσχον αὐτῷ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς· ἐπὶ Παρμενίωνα δὲ σταλῆναι Πολυδάμαντα, ἕνα τῶν ἑταίρων, γράμματα φέροντα παρ᾽ Ἀλε-

[1] Roos προσηγγελμένη μὲν ἦν : Polak perhaps better προηγγ. μὲν ἦν.

Zarangaeans; and arrived where their palace was. But Barsaentes who then held the country, being one of those who had joined in attacking Dareius on the flight, learning that Alexander was approaching, fled to the Indians on this side of the river Indus; but the Indians seized him and sent him to Alexander, who put him to death for his treachery to Dareius.

XXVI. It was there that Alexander learnt also of the conspiracy of Philotas son of Parmenio. Ptolemaeus and Aristobulus say that some report of it had been already made to him in Egypt, but he did not think it credible, both because of their long friendship with him and because of the honour he had shown to Parmenio, Philotas' father, and the trust he had reposed in Philotas himself. Ptolemaeus son of Lagus states as follows; Philotas was summoned before the Macedonians, and Alexander vigorously accused him, Philotas making his defence; and then those who had reported the plot came forward and convicted Philotas and his fellows with many manifest proofs, and chiefly this, that while Philotas himself agreed that he had heard of some sort of plot being laid against Alexander, he was proved guilty of having uttered no hint of it to Alexander, though he visited Alexander's tent twice daily. Philotas for his part was shot down by javelins by the Macedonians, and with him the other conspirators; but as for Parmenio, Polydames, one of the Companions, was sent

ξάνδρου πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τοὺς ἐν Μηδίᾳ, Κλέανδρόν τε καὶ Σιτάλκην καὶ Μενίδαν· οὗτοι γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἧς ἦρχε Παρμενίων
4 τεταγμένοι ἦσαν. Καὶ πρὸς τούτων ἀποθανεῖν Παρμενίωνα, τυχὸν μὲν ὅτι οὐ πιστὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι Ἀλέξανδρος Φιλώτα ἐπιβουλεύοντος μὴ ξυμμετασχεῖν Παρμενίωνα τῷ παιδὶ τοῦ βουλεύματος, τυχὸν δὲ ὅτι, εἰ καὶ μὴ ξυμμετέσχε, σφαλερὸς ἤδη ἦν περιὼν Παρμενίων, τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ ἀνῃρημένου, ἐν τοσαύτῃ ὢν ἀξιώσει παρά τε αὐτῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ ἐς τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα, μὴ ὅτι τὸ Μακεδονικόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξένων, ὧν πολλάκις καὶ ἐν τῷ μέρει καὶ παρὰ τὸ μέρος κατὰ πρόσταξιν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ξὺν χάριτι ἐξηγεῖτο.

XXVII. Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ Ἀμύνταν τὸν Ἀνδρομένους κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ὑπαχθῆναι ἐς κρίσιν, καὶ Πολέμωνα καὶ Ἄτταλον καὶ Σιμμίαν τοὺς Ἀμύντου ἀδελφούς, ὡς ξυμμετασχόντας καὶ αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τῆς κατ᾽ Ἀλεξάνδρου
2 κατὰ πίστιν τε καὶ ἑταιρίαν τὴν Φιλώτα. Καὶ ἐδόκει πιστοτέρα ἡ ἐπιβουλὴ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος, ὅτι Πολέμων, εἷς τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν Ἀμύντου, ξυλληφθέντος Φιλώτα, ἔφυγεν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους. Ἀλλ᾽ Ἀμύντας γε ξὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὑπομείνας τὴν δίκην καὶ ἀπολογησάμενος ἐν Μακεδόσι καρτερῶς ἀφίεται τῆς αἰτίας· καὶ εὐθὺς ὡς ἀπέφυγεν, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἠξίωσεν ἀφεθῆναί οἱ ἐλθεῖν παρὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ ἐπαναγαγεῖν αὐτὸν παρὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον· καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες
3 ξυγχωροῦσιν. Ὁ δὲ ἀπελθὼν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν Πολέμωνα ἐπανήγαγε· καὶ ταύτῃ πολὺ ἔτι

to him with a letter from Alexander to the generals in Media, Cleander and Sitalces and Menidas; for they had been posted to the force which Parmenio commanded. By them Parmenio was put to death, possibly because Alexander could not believe that when Philotas was conspiring Parmenio had no share in his own son's conspiracy; or possibly because, even supposing he had no such share in it, Parmenio was already a grave danger, if he survived when his own son had been put to death, being so highly thought of both by Alexander himself and throughout all the army, and that not only the Macedonian army, but the mercenaries also, whom he had so often commanded both in his ordinary turn of duty and also in extraordinary commands by Alexander's express order and with Alexander's approbation.

XXVII. It is said that Amyntas son of Andromenes was brought to trial about the same time, with Polemon and Attalus and Simmias, brothers of Amyntas, on a charge of having joined also in the conspiracy against Alexander, through their faith in Philotas and their friendship with him; and the conspiracy won more credence among the multitude because Polemon, one of Amyntas' brothers, as soon as Philotas was arrested, deserted to the enemy. But Amyntas at any rate with his brothers stood his trial, and made a vigorous defence before the Macedonians, and was acquitted of the charge; and the moment he was acquitted, he asked leave to go to his brother and bring him back again to Alexander; this the Macedonians permitted. He departed, therefore, that very day and brought back Polemon;

μᾶλλον ἢ πρόσθεν ἔξω αἰτίας ἐφάνη Ἀμύντας. Ἀλλὰ ὀλίγον γε ὕστερον κώμην τινὰ πολιορκῶν τοξευθεὶς ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς ἐτελεύτησεν, ὥστε οὐδὲν πλέον αὐτῷ γίγνεται τὴν κρίσιν ἀποφυγόντι ὅτι μὴ ἀγαθῷ νομιζομένῳ ἀποθανεῖν.

4 Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, καταστήσας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑταίρους ἱππάρχας δύο, Ἡφαιστίωνά τε τὸν Ἀμύντορος καὶ Κλεῖτον τὸν Δρωπίδου, καὶ δίχα διελὼν τὴν τάξιν τῶν ἑταίρων, ὅτι οὐδὲ φίλων[1] ἂν ἠβούλετο ἕνα τοσούτων ἱππέων, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν κρατίστων τοῦ παντὸς ἱππικοῦ κατά τε ἀξίωσιν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετὴν ἐξηγεῖσθαι, ἀφικνεῖται ἐς τοὺς πάλαι μὲν Ἀριάσπας καλουμένους, ὕστερον δὲ Εὐεργέτας ἐπονομασθέντας, ὅτι Κύρῳ τῷ Καμβύσου ξυνεπελάβοντο τῆς ἐς
5 Σκύθας ἐλάσεως. Καὶ τούτους Ἀλέξανδρος ὧν τε ἐς Κῦρον ὑπῆρξαν οἱ πρόγονοι αὐτῶν τιμήσας καὶ αὐτὸς καταμαθὼν ἄνδρας οὐ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ταύτῃ βαρβάρους πολιτεύοντας, ἀλλὰ τοῦ δικαίου ἴσα καὶ τοῖς κρατίστοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων μεταποιουμένους, ἐλευθέρους τε ἀφῆκε καὶ χώραν τῆς ὁμόρου ὅσην αὐτοὶ σφίσιν ᾔτησαν (οὐ πολλὴν δὲ οὐδ' αὐτοὶ ᾔτησαν), προσέθηκεν. Ἐνταῦθα θύσας τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι Δημήτριον μὲν ἕνα τῶν σωματοφυλάκων, ὑποπτεύσας μετασχεῖν Φιλώτᾳ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς, ξυνέλαβε· σωματοφύλακα δὲ ἀντὶ Δημητρίου ἀπέδειξε Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Λάγου.

XXVIII. Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος προῄει ὡς ἐπὶ Βάκτρα τε καὶ Βῆσσον, Δράγγας τε καὶ Γαδρωσοὺς ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ παραστησάμενος.

[1] φίλων Freinshemius, φιλώταν A.

and thus Amyntas seemed more clear of guilt than before. Soon after, however, when besieging some village he received an arrow wound, of which he died; so that all he gained from his acquittal was that he died with his good name unsmirched.

Alexander now appointed two officers over the Companions, Hephaestion son of Amyntor and Cleitus son of Dropides, and dividing the Companions' brigade in two parts, since he did not wish any single man, even of his friends, to command so large a body of cavalry, especially as it was the best of all his mounted force in reputation and valour, he arrived among the people called formerly Ariaspians, but later surnamed also Benefactors, because they assisted Cyrus son of Cambyses in his Scythian expedition. Alexander showed regard for this people, both for the services their forefathers had done to Cyrus, and from his own observation that they were not governed like the other tribesmen of these parts, but also claimed to practise justice, like the best of the Greeks; he therefore let them go free and gave them as much as they asked for themselves of the neighbouring country; and yet they only asked for a modest portion. There he sacrificed to Apollo; and also arrested Demetrius, one of the bodyguards, suspecting that he had a hand in Philotas' conspiracy; and in his place he appointed as bodyguard Ptolemaeus son of Lagus.

XXVIII. After setting all this in order Alexander proceeded towards Bactria and against Bessus, reducing on the way the Drangians and Gadrosians,[1]

[1] Both lived in the south-easternmost corner of the Persian Empire, towards the Indus.

Παρεστήσατο δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἀραχώτους καὶ σατράπην κατέστησεν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Μένωνα. Ἐπῆλθε δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν τοὺς προσχώρους Ἀραχώτοις. Ξύμπαντα δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη διὰ χιόνος τε πολλῆς καὶ ξὺν ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ταλαιπωρίᾳ ἐπῆλθε.

2 Μαθὼν δὲ τοὺς Ἀρείους αὖθις ἀφεστάναι, Σατιβαρζάνου ἐς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐμβαλόντος σὺν ἱππεῦσι δισχιλίοις, οὓς παρὰ Βήσσου ἔλαβεν, ἀποστέλλει παρ' αὐτοὺς Ἀρτάβαζόν τε τὸν Πέρσην καὶ Ἐρίγυιον καὶ Κάρανον τῶν ἑταίρων· προσέταξε δὲ καὶ Φραταφέρνην, τὸν τῶν Παρθυαίων σατράπην, ξυνεμβαλεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐς τοὺς

3 Ἀρείους. Καὶ γίγνεται μάχη τοῖς ἀμφὶ Ἐρίγυιον καὶ Κάρανον πρὸς Σατιβαρζάνην καρτερά, οὐδὲ πρόσθεν οἱ βάρβαροι ἐνέκλιναν πρὶν Σατιβαρζάνην ξυμπεσόντα Ἐριγυίῳ πρὸς Ἐριγυίου πληγέντα δόρατι ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον ἀποθανεῖν. Τότε δὴ ἐγκλίναντες οἱ βάρβαροι προτροπάδην ἔφευγον.

4 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος πρὸς τὸν Καύκασον τὸ ὄρος ἦγεν, ἵνα καὶ πόλιν ἔκτισε καὶ ὠνόμασεν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν· καὶ θύσας ἐνταῦθα τοῖς θεοῖς ὅσοις νόμος αὐτῷ ὑπερέβαλε τὸ ὄρος τὸν Καύκασον, σατράπην μὲν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐπιτάξας Προέξην, ἄνδρα Πέρσην, τῶν δὲ ἑταίρων Νειλόξενον τὸν Σατύρου ἐπίσκοπον ξὺν στρατιᾷ ἀπολιπών.

5 Τὸ δὲ ὄρος ὁ Καύκασος ὑψηλὸν μέν ἐστιν ὥσπερ τι ἄλλο τῆς Ἀσίας, ὡς λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος, ψιλὸν δὲ τὸ πολὺ αὐτοῦ τό γε ταύτῃ. Μακρὸν γὰρ ὄρος παρατέταται ὁ Καύκασος, ὥστε καὶ τὸν Ταῦρον τὸ ὄρος, ὃς δὴ τὴν Κιλικίαν

and also the Arachotians, appointing Menon satrap over them. He reached also the Indians who were nearest to the Arachotians. All these various tribes he invaded through deep snow, with lack of provisions, and with much distress of his men. But learning that the Areians had again revolted, since Satibarzanes had invaded their country with two thousand horse, whom he received from Bessus, he sent to them Artabazus the Persian and two Companions, Erigyius and Caranus; he ordered Phrataphernes also, the satrap of Parthyaea, to help them in their attack on the Areians. A severe battle took place between the troops of Erigyius and Caranus against Satibarzanes; indeed, the Persians did not give way till Satibarzanes in single combat with Erigyius was struck in the face with a spear and killed. Then the tribesmen turned and fled headlong.

Meanwhile Alexander led his army to Mount Caucasus,[1] and founded there a city which he called Alexandreia. There he sacrificed to the gods to whom he usually sacrificed, and then crossed Mount Caucasus, appointing as satrap of the district Proexes, a Persian, and Neiloxenes son of Satyrus, one of the Companions, overseer; and left him there with a force.

Mount Caucasus is, according to Aristobulus, as high as any in Asia; most of it is bare, at least on this side. For Caucasus is a long mountain range, so that they say that even Mount Taurus, which is

1 The Indian Caucasus, or "Hindu-Koosh."

τε καὶ Παμφυλίαν ἀπείργει, ἀπὸ τοῦ Καυκάσου
εἶναι λέγουσι καὶ ἄλλα ὄρη μεγάλα ἀπὸ τοῦ
Καυκάσου διακεκριμένα ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ ἐπωνυμίᾳ
6 κατὰ ἤθη τὰ ἑκάστων. Ἀλλὰ ἔν γε τούτῳ τῷ
Καυκάσῳ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ τέρμινθοι πεφύκασι
καὶ σίλφιον, ὡς λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος· ἀλλὰ καὶ
ὣς ἐπῳκεῖτο πολλοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ πρόβατα
πολλὰ καὶ κτήνη ἐνέμοντο, ὅτι καὶ χαίρουσι τῷ
σιλφίῳ τὰ πρόβατα, καὶ εἰ ἐκ πολλοῦ πρόβατον
σιλφίου αἴσθοιτο, καὶ θεῖ ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸ καὶ τό τε
ἄνθος ἐπινέμεται καὶ τὴν ῥίζαν ἀνορύττον καὶ
7 ταύτην κατεσθίει. Ἐπὶ τῷδε ἐν Κυρήνῃ ὡς
μακροτάτω ἀπελαύνουσι τὰς ποίμνας τῶν χωρίων
ἵνα αὐτοῖς τὸ σίλφιον φύεται· οἱ δὲ καὶ περι-
φράσσουσι τὸν χῶρον, τοῦ μηδ᾽ εἰ πελάσειεν
αὐτῷ πρόβατα, δυνατὰ γενέσθαι εἴσω παρελθεῖν,
ὅτι πολλοῦ ἄξιον Κυρηναίοις τὸ σίλφιον.
8 Βῆσσος δέ, ἔχων ἀμφ᾽ αὐτὸν Περσῶν τε τοὺς
μετασχόντας αὐτῷ τῆς Δαρείου συλλήψεως καὶ
αὐτῶν Βακτρίων ἐς ἑπτακισχιλίους καὶ Δάας
τοὺς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ταναΐδος ποταμοῦ ἐποικοῦντας,
ἔφθειρε τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει τῷ Καυκάσῳ, ὡς
ἐρημίᾳ τε τῆς χώρας τῆς ἐν μέσῳ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ
Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπείρ-
9 ξων Ἀλέξανδρον τοῦ μὴ ἐλαύνειν πρόσω. Ἀλλ᾽
Ἀλέξανδρος ἤλαυνεν οὐδὲν μεῖον, χαλεπῶς μὲν
διά τε χιόνος πολλῆς καὶ ἐνδείᾳ τῶν ἀναγκαίων,
ᾔει δὲ ὅμως. Βῆσσος δέ, ἐπεὶ ἐξηγγέλλετο αὐτῷ
οὐ πόρρω ἤδη ὢν Ἀλέξανδρος, διαβὰς τὸν
Ὦξον ποταμὸν τὰ μὲν πλοῖα ἐφ᾽ ὧν διέβη
κατέκαυσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς Ναύτακα τῆς Σογδιανῆς
10 χώρας ἀπεχώρει. Εἵποντο δὲ αὐτῷ οἵ τε ἀμφὶ

the boundary of Cilicia and Pamphylia, is really a part of Mount Caucasus as well as other great mountains which have been distinguished from Mount Caucasus by various nomenclatures according to their geographical positions. In this Mount Caucasus, however, there grows nothing save terebinths and asafœtida, according to Aristobulus. But even so it was inhabited by a large number of people and many flocks and herds grazed there, since the flocks like the asafœtida, and if they are aware of it ever so far away they hurry to it and nibble off its flower, and also dig up and eat the root. For this reason in Cyrene they drive their flocks as far as possible from the places where this plant grows; some even hurdle off the place, so that the flocks even if they approach cannot get in, since the plant is very valuable to the Cyrenaeans.

But Bessus with such of the Persians about him as had joined in the arrest of Dareius, some seven thousand of the Bactrians themselves, and the Dahae who dwell on this side of the river Tanais, ravaged the country lying under Mount Caucasus, hoping by this desolation of the country lying between himself and Alexander and by want of provisions to keep Alexander from proceeding farther. But Alexander came on none the less, with difficulty indeed, through thick snow and owing to want of necessaries, but still he came on. But Bessus, as soon as he was told that Alexander was now not far off, crossed the river Oxus and burned the boats on which he had crossed, but himself moved off towards Nautaka of the country of Sogiana. There went with him the troops of

Σπιταμένην καὶ Ὀξυάρτην, ἔχοντες τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Σογδιανῆς ἱππέας, καὶ Δάαι οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ταναΐδος. Οἱ δὲ τῶν Βακτρίων ἱππεῖς ὡς φεύγειν ἐγνωκότα ἔμαθον Βῆσσον, ἄλλος ἄλλῃ ἐπὶ τὰ σφῶν ἕκαστοι ἀπηλλάγησαν.

XXIX. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐς Δράψακα ἀφικόμενος καὶ ἀναπαύσας τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς Ἄορνόν τε ἦγε καὶ Βάκτρα, αἳ δὴ μέγισταί εἰσι πόλεις ἐν τῇ Βακτρίων χώρᾳ. Καὶ ταύτας τε ἐξ ἐφόδου ἔλαβε καὶ φυλακὴν ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῆς Ἀόρνου ἀπέλιπε καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτης Ἀρχέλαον τὸν Ἀνδρόκλου τῶν ἑταίρων· τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις Βακτρίοις, οὐ χαλεπῶς προσχωρήσασιν, ἐπέταξε σατράπην Ἀρτάβαζον τὸν Πέρσην.

2 Αὐτὸς δὲ ἦγεν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ὦξον ποταμόν· ὁ δὲ Ὦξος ῥέει μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Καυκάσου, ἔστι δὲ ποταμῶν μέγιστος τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, ὅσους γε δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ οἱ ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐπῆλθον, πλὴν τῶν Ἰνδῶν ποταμῶν· οἱ δὲ Ἰνδοὶ πάντων ποταμῶν μέγιστοί εἰσιν· ἐξίησι δὲ ὁ Ὦξος ἐς τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν τὴν καθ'
3 Ὑρκανίαν. Διαβάλλειν δὲ ἐπιχειροῦντι αὐτῷ τὸν ποταμὸν πάντῃ ἄπορον ἐφαίνετο· τὸ μὲν γὰρ εὖρος ἦν ἐς ἓξ μάλιστα σταδίους, βαθὺς οὐ πρὸς λόγον τοῦ εὔρους, ἀλλὰ πολὺ δή τι βαθύτερος καὶ ψαμμώδης, καὶ ῥεῦμα ὀξὺ [ἔχων], ὡς τὰ καταπηγνύμενα πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ ῥοῦ ἐκστρέφεσθαι ἐκ τῆς γῆς οὐ χαλεπῶς, οἷα δὴ οὐ
4 βεβαίως κατὰ τῆς ψάμμου ἱδρυμένα. Ἄλλως δὲ καὶ ἀπορία ὕλης ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἦν καὶ τριβὴ πολλὴ ἐφαίνετο, εἰ μακρόθεν μετίοιεν ὅσα ἐς γεφύρωσιν τοῦ πόρου. Ξυναγαγὼν οὖν τὰς

Spitamenes and Oxyartes, and with them the horsemen from Sogdiana, and Dahae from the Tanais. But the Bactrian cavalry when they learnt that Bessus had determined on flight went off, each party their own way to their homes.

XXIX. Alexander now arrived at Drapsaca, and after he had rested his army led them on to Aornos and Bactra, the greatest cities of Bactria. These he took at his first attempt, and left a garrison in the citadel of Aornos, and in charge of it Archelaus son of Androcles, one of the Companions. Over the rest of the Bactrians, who readily gave in, he set as satrap Artabazus the Persian.

He then marched towards the river Oxus. The Oxus flows from Mount Caucasus and is the greatest of those Asian rivers which Alexander and his army reached, except the rivers of India; they are the greatest of all rivers. The Oxus flows, however, into the Great Sea [1] which is in Hyrcania. When Alexander attempted to cross the river it appeared impossible to pass in any direction. For its breadth was about six stades, and its depth disproportionately great for its breadth, with sandy bed, and a swift current, so that piles fixed into the bed were easily twisted out of their ground by the stream alone, not getting a firm hold on the sand. Apart from this there was want of timber in the district, and it was clear that there would be much delay if they went to fetch from a distance enough for the bridging of the stream. He therefore collected the hides which

[1] The Caspian.

διφθέρας ὑφ᾽ αἷς ἐσκήνουν οἱ στρατιῶται, φορυτοῦ ἐμπλῆσαι ἐκέλευσεν ὡς ξηροτάτου καὶ καταδῆσαί τε καὶ ξυρράψαι ἀκριβῶς τοῦ μὴ ἐσδύεσθαι ἐς αὐτὰς τοῦ ὕδατος. Ἐμπλησθεῖσαι δὲ καὶ ξυρραφεῖσαι ἱκαναὶ ἐγένοντο διαβιβάσαι τὸν στρατὸν ἐν πέντε ἡμέραις.

5 Πρὶν δὲ διαβαίνειν τὸν ποταμόν, τῶν τε Μακεδόνων ἐπιλέξας τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους καὶ ἤδη ἀπολέμους καὶ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν τοὺς ἐθελοντὰς καταμείναντας, ἐπ᾽ οἴκου ἀπέστειλεν. Ἐκπέμπει δὲ καὶ Στασάνορα, ἕνα τῶν ἑταίρων, ἐς Ἀρείους, προστάξας Ἀρσάμην μὲν τὸν σατράπην τῶν Ἀρείων ξυλλαβεῖν, ὅτι ἐθελοκακεῖν αὐτῷ Ἀρσάμης ἔδοξεν, αὐτὸν δὲ σατράπην εἶναι ἀντ᾽ ἐκείνου Ἀρείων.

6 Περάσας δὲ τὸν Ὦξον ποταμὸν ἦγε κατὰ σπουδὴν ἵνα Βῆσσον εἶναι ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει ἐπυνθάνετο. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀφικνοῦνται παρὰ Σπιταμένους καὶ Δαταφέρνου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγγέλλοντες ὅτι Σπιταμένης καὶ Δαταφέρνης, εἰ πεμφθείη αὐτοῖς καὶ ὀλίγη στρατιὰ καὶ ἡγεμὼν τῇ στρατιᾷ, ξυλλήψονται Βῆσσον καὶ παραδώσουσιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν ἀδέσμῳ φυλακῇ φυλάσσεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν Βῆσσον.

7 Ταῦτα ὡς ἤκουσεν Ἀλέξανδρος, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀναπαύων ἦγε τὴν στρατιὰν σχολαίτερον ἢ πρόσθεν· Πτολεμαῖον δὲ τὸν Λάγου ἀποστέλλει τῶν τε ἑταίρων ἱππαρχίας τρεῖς ἄγοντα καὶ τοὺς ἱππακοντιστὰς ξύμπαντας, πεζῶν δὲ τήν τε Φιλώτα τάξιν καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν χιλιαρχίαν μίαν καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας πάντας καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν τοὺς ἡμίσεας, σπουδῇ ἐλαύνειν κελεύσας ὡς Σπιτα-

the troops used for tent covers and ordered them to be filled with the driest possible chaff, and then to be tied down and stitched neatly together so as to be watertight. When they were filled and stitched together they were efficient enough to take the army across in five days.

Before crossing the river Alexander selected from the Macedonians the oldest men who were no longer fit for service and the Thessalian volunteers who had remained behind and sent them on their way home. He sent also Stasanor, one of the Companions, to Areia, bidding him arrest Arsames satrap of the Areians because Arsames appeared to have ill-will towards him; and he bade Stasanor take over the satrapy of Areia in Arsames' place.

Then after crossing the river Oxus he marched rapidly to where he had learned Bessus and his force to be. Meantime there met him messengers from Spitamenes and Dataphernes telling him that they two, if quite a small force were sent them, and a man to command it, would seize Bessus and hand him over to Alexander; in fact they had Bessus already under open arrest. On hearing this, Alexander for his own part rested his army and led it on more leisurely than before. But he sent Ptolemaeus son of Lagus with three regiments of the Companions' cavalry and all the mounted javelin-men, from the infantry, the brigade of Philotas and a regiment of the bodyguard, all the Agrianes, and half the archers, bidding him lead them rapidly to Spita-

μένην τε καὶ Δαταφέρνην. Καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ᾔει ὡς ἐτέτακτο, καὶ διελθὼν ἐν ἡμέραις τέσσαρσι σταθμοὺς δέκα ἀφικνεῖται ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον οὗ τῇ προτεραίᾳ ηὐλισμένοι ἦσαν οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Σπιταμένην βάρβαροι.

XXX. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμαθε Πτολεμαῖος ὅτι οὐ βεβαία τῷ Σπιταμένῃ καὶ Δαταφέρνῃ ἡ γνώμη ἐστὶν ἀμφὶ τῇ παραδόσει τοῦ Βήσσου. Τοὺς μὲν δὴ πεζοὺς κατέλιπε, προστάξας ἕπεσθαι ἐν τάξει, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐλάσας ἀφίκετο πρός κώμην τινά, ἵν' ὁ Βῆσσος ἦν ξὺν ὀλίγοις
2 στρατιώταις. Οἱ γὰρ ἀμφὶ τὸν Σπιταμένην μετακεχωρήκεσαν ἤδη ἐκεῖθεν, καταιδεσθέντες αὐτοὶ παραδοῦναι τὸν Βῆσσον. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ περιστήσας ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς κώμης τοὺς ἱππέας (ἦν γάρ τι καὶ τεῖχος περιβεβλημένον καὶ πύλαι κατ' αὐτό), ἐπεκηρυκεύετο τοῖς ἐν τῇ κώμῃ βαρβάροις, ἀπαθεῖς σφᾶς ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι παραδόντας Βῆσσον. Οἱ δὲ ἐδέχοντο τοὺς ξὺν Πτολεμαίῳ ἐς
3 τὴν κώμην. Καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ξυλλαβὼν Βῆσσον ὀπίσω ἐπανῄει· προπέμψας δὲ ἤρετο Ἀλέξανδρον ὅπως χρὴ ἐς ὄψιν ἄγειν Ἀλεξάνδρου Βῆσσον. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος γυμνὸν ἐν κλοιῷ δήσαντα οὕτως ἄγειν ἐκέλευσε καὶ καταστήσαντα ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ ᾗ αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ παρελάσεσθαι ἔμελλε. Καὶ Πτολεμαῖος οὕτως ἐποίησεν.
4 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἰδὼν τὸν Βῆσσον ἐπιστήσας τὸ ἅρμα ἤρετο ἀνθ' ὅτου τὸν βασιλέα τὸν αὑτοῦ καὶ ἅμα οἰκεῖον καὶ εὐεργέτην γενόμενον Δαρεῖον τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ξυνέλαβε καὶ δήσας ἦγεν, ἔπειτα ἀπέκτεινε. Καὶ ὁ Βῆσσος οὐ μόνῳ οἷ ταῦτα δόξαντα πρᾶξαι ἔφη, ἀλλὰ ξὺν τοῖς τότε ἀμφὶ

menes and Dataphernes. Ptolemaeus went as he was ordered, and traversing ten days' marches within the space of four days he arrived at the camp where on the former day the Persians with Spitamenes had bivouacked.

XXX. There Ptolemaeus learnt that Spitamenes and Dataphernes had not quite made up their mind about the surrender of Bessus. He therefore left the infantry behind, bidding them follow in ordinary marching order, and he himself rode off with the cavalry, and arrived at a village where Bessus and a few soldiers were. For Spitamenes and his men had already withdrawn thence, their conscience not permitting them to be themselves the betrayers of Bessus. But Ptolemaeus stationing the cavalry in a cordon round the village—it had some sort of wall thrown round it, and gates in the wall—made a proclamation to the Persians in the village that they would be allowed to depart unscathed if they yielded up Bessus; and they received Ptolemaeus and his troops into the village, and Ptolemaeus seized Bessus and retired. Then he sent a messenger ahead and asked Alexander in what way he should bring Bessus into his presence. Alexander bade him bring Bessus bound, naked, and wearing a wooden collar, and thus conduct him, stationing him on the right of the road by which he and his army were about to pass. And so Ptolemaeus did.

But Alexander on seeing Bessus stopped his car and asked him why he had first seized Dareius, who had been his king, his relative, and his benefactor, then led him about in chains, and then murdered him? Bessus replied that he had done this not by any private decision of his own but in union with all

Δαρεῖον οὖσιν, ὡς σωτηρίαν σφίσιν εὑρέσθαι
5 παρ᾽ Ἀλεξάνδρου. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε
μαστιγοῦν ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπιλέγειν τὸν
κήρυκα ταὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα ὅσα αὐτὸς τῷ Βήσσῳ ἐν
τῇ πύστει ὠνείδισε. Βῆσσος μὲν δὴ οὕτως
αἰκισθεὶς ἀποπέμπεται ἐς Βάκτρα ἀποθανού-
μενος. Καὶ ταῦτα Πτολεμαῖος ὑπὲρ Βήσσου
ἀνέγραψεν· Ἀριστόβουλος δέ, τοὺς ἀμφὶ Σπι-
ταμένην τε καὶ Δαταφέρνην Πτολεμαίῳ ἀγαγεῖν
Βῆσσον καὶ παραδοῦναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γυμνὸν ἐν
κλοιῷ δήσαντας.

6 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἀναπληρώσας τὸ ἱππικὸν ἐκ
τῶν αὐτόθεν ἵππων (πολλοὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ ἵπποι ἔν
τε τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τοῦ Καυκάσου καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ
τὸν Ὦξόν τε καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὤξου πορείᾳ ἐξέλιπον)
ὡς ἐπὶ Μαράκανδα ἦγε· τὰ δέ ἐστι βασίλεια
7 τῆς Σογδιανῶν χώρας. Ἔνθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Τάναϊν
ποταμὸν προῄει. Τῷ δὲ Τανάϊδι τούτῳ, ὃν δὴ
καὶ Ἰαξάρτην ἄλλῳ ὀνόματι πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων
βαρβάρων καλεῖσθαι λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος, αἱ
πηγαὶ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Καυκάσου ὄρους καὶ αὐτῷ εἰσιν·
ἐξίησι δὲ καὶ οὗτος ὁ ποταμὸς ἐς τὴν Ὑρκανίαν
8 θάλασσαν. Ἄλλος δ᾽ ἂν εἴη Τάναϊς ὑπὲρ ὅτου
λέγει Ἡρόδοτος ὁ λογοποιὸς ὄγδοον εἶναι τῶν
ποταμῶν τῶν Σκυθικῶν Τάναϊν, καὶ ῥέειν μὲν ἐκ
λίμνης μεγάλης ἀνίσχοντα, ἐκδιδόναι δὲ ἐς μείζω
ἔτι λίμνην τὴν καλουμένην Μαιῶτιν· καὶ τὸν
Τάναϊν τοῦτον εἰσὶν οἳ ὅρον ποιοῦσι τῆς Ἀσίας
9 καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης, οἷς δὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ μυχοῦ τοῦ
πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου ἡ λίμνη τε ἡ Μαιῶτις καὶ
ὁ ἐς ταύτην ἐξιεὶς ποταμὸς ὁ Τάναϊς οὗτος
διείργει τὴν Ἀσίαν τε καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην, καθάπερ

the attendants of Dareius at that time, that they might themselves win safe-conduct from Alexander. But Alexander at this bade them scourge him and the herald to proclaim during the scourging these same reproaches he had directed to Bessus in his enquiry. Bessus then after this torture was sent to Bactra to be put to death. This is Ptolemaeus' account of Bessus; Aristobulus, however, affirms that it was the followers of Spitamenes and Dataphernes who led Bessus naked and bound, wearing a wooden collar, and so handed him over to Alexander.

But Alexander, when he had brought his cavalry to full strength with the horses in the vicinity, for a good many horses had fallen from exhaustion during the crossing of Mount Caucasus and on the marches both to and from the Oxus, led his troops towards Maracanda, the royal city of that part of Sogdiana. Thence he advanced to the river Tanais. The springs of the Tanais too, which Aristobulus says is called by the natives another name, the Jaxartes, rise on Mount Caucasus; and this river also flows out into the Hyrcanian Sea.[1] The Tanais, of which Herodotus the historian tells us that it is the eighth of the Scythian rivers, rises and flows out of a great lake, and runs into a greater lake, called Maeotis, will be a different Tanais. Some authorities regard this Tanais as the boundary between Asia and Europe; they imagine that from this corner of the Euxine Sea upwards the Lake Maeotis and this river Tanais which runs into the lake do actually part Asia and Europe, just as the

[1] Arrian (with Strabo) is here in error.

ἢ κατὰ Γάδειρά τε καὶ τοὺς ἀντιπέραν Γαδείρων Λίβυας τοὺς Νομάδας θάλασσα τὴν Λιβύην αὖ καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην διείργει, οἷς γε δὴ ἡ Λιβύη ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας τῆς ἄλλης τῷ Νείλῳ ποταμῷ διακέκριται.

10 Ἐνταῦθα ἀποσκεδασθέντες τινὲς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐς προνομὴν κατακόπτονται πρὸς τῶν βαρβάρων· οἱ δὲ δράσαντες τὸ ἔργον ἀπέφυγον ἐς ὄρος τραχύτατον καὶ πάντῃ ἀπότομον· ἦσαν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ἐς τρισμυρίους. Καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς κουφοτάτους τῆς στρατιᾶς
11 ἀναλαβὼν ἦγεν. Ἔνθα δὴ προσβολαὶ πολλαὶ ἐγίγνοντο τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐς τὸ ὄρος· καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἀπεκρούοντο βαλλόμενοι ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ τραυματίαι ἐγένοντο καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς τὴν κνήμην τοξεύεται διαμπὰξ καὶ τῆς περόνης τι ἀποθραύεται αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ τοξεύματος. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὣς ἔλαβέ τε τὸ χωρίον καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ κατεκόπησαν πρὸς τῶν Μακεδόνων, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν ῥίψαντες σφᾶς ἀπέθανον, ὥστε ἐκ τρισμυρίων οὐ πλείους ἀποσωθῆναι ὀκτακισχιλίων.

sea near Gadeira and the nomad Libyans opposite Gadeira [1] parts Libya and Europe; imagining also that Libya is parted from the rest of Asia by the river Nile.

It was here [2] that some of the Macedonians who had scattered for foraging were cut down by the natives. Those who did this deed took refuge in a very rugged and completely precipitous mountain, being in number about thirty thousand. Alexander took his lightest troops and led them to attack the fugitives. Then the Macedonians attempted several assaults upon the mountain; and at first they were driven back by the volleys from the natives, and a great many were wounded; notably Alexander himself was shot right through the leg with an arrow, and a part of the small bone of the leg was broken. But even so he captured the position, and of the tribesmen some were cut down there and then by the Macedonians, but many perished by throwing themselves down the rocks, so that from thirty thousand not more than eight thousand saved themselves.

[1] The Straits of Gibraltar.
[2] On the Jaxartes.

BOOK IV

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝ

I. Οὐ πολλαῖς δὲ ἡμέραις ὕστερον ἀφικνοῦνται παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον πρέσβεις ἀπό τε Σκυθῶν τῶν Ἀβίων καλουμένων (οὓς καὶ Ὅμηρος δικαιοτάτους ἀνθρώπους εἰπὼν ἐν τῇ ποιήσει ἐπήνεσεν· οἰκοῦσι δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ οὗτοι αὐτόνομοι, οὐχ ἥκιστα διὰ πενίαν τε καὶ δικαιότητα), καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης Σκυθῶν, οἳ δὴ τὸ μέγιστον
2 ἔθνος ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἐποικοῦσι. Καὶ τούτοις ξυμπέμπει Ἀλέξανδρος τῶν ἑταίρων, πρόφασιν μὲν κατὰ πρεσβείαν φιλίαν ξυνθησομένους, ὁ δὲ νοῦς τῆς πομπῆς ἐς κατασκοπήν τι μᾶλλον ἔφερε φύσεώς τε τῆς χώρας τῆς Σκυθικῆς καὶ πλήθους αὐτῶν καὶ νομαίων καὶ ὁπλίσεως ἥντινα ἔχοντες στέλλονται ἐς τὰς μάχας.

3 Αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τῷ Ταναΐδι ποταμῷ ἐπενόει πόλιν οἰκίσαι, καὶ ταύτην ἑαυτοῦ ἐπώνυμον. Ὅ τε γὰρ χῶρος ἐπιτήδειος αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο αὐξῆσαι τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ μέγα καὶ ἐν καλῷ οἰκισθήσεσθαι τῆς ἐπὶ Σκύθας, εἴποτε ξυμβαίνοι, ἐλάσεως καὶ τῆς προφυλακῆς τῆς χώρας πρὸς τὰς καταδρομὰς τῶν πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐποι-
4 κούντων βαρβάρων. Ἐδόκει δ' ἂν καὶ μεγάλη γενέσθαι ἡ πόλις πλήθει τε τῶν ἐς αὐτὴν ξυνοικιζομένων καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῇ λαμπρότητι. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ πρόσχωροι τῷ ποταμῷ βάρβαροι τούς τε τὰ φρούρια ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι σφῶν ἔχοντας στρατιώτας τῶν Μακεδόνων ξυλλα-

BOOK IV

I. Not many days after, envoys came to Alexander from the Abian Scythians, as they are called, of whom Homer spoke highly in his epic, calling them "justest of men"; they dwell in Asia, independent, chiefly through their poverty and their sense of justice. Envoys came too from the European Scythians, who are the greatest nation dwelling in Europe. With these Alexander sent some of the Companions, giving out that they were, by way of an embassy, to conclude a friendly agreement with them; but the real idea of the mission was rather to spy out the nature of the Scythians' territory, their numbers, their customs, and the arms they use on their warlike expeditions.

He himself was minded to found a city on the Tanais, and to call it after his own name. For the site seemed to him suitable for considerable development of the city; he also thought that it would be built in an excellent position for his invasion of Scythia, should that ever take place, and for an outpost of the country against the raids of the tribesmen dwelling on the other side of the river. He felt also that such a city would become great both from the number of settlers and the splendour of its name. Meanwhile the tribesmen near the river seized the Macedonian troops who garrisoned their cities and slew them, and

βόντες ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐς ἀσφάλειάν
5 τινα μᾶλλον ὠχύρουν. Ξυνεπελάβοντο δὲ αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀποστάσεως καὶ τῶν Σογδιανῶν οἱ πολλοί, ἐπαρθέντες πρὸς τῶν ξυλλαβόντων Βῆσσον, ὥστε καὶ τῶν Βακτριανῶν ἔστιν οὓς σφισιν οὗτοι ξυναπέστησαν, εἴτε δὴ καὶ δείσαντες Ἀλέξανδρον, εἴτε καὶ λόγον ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποστάσει διδόντες, ὅτι ἐς ἕνα ξύλλογον ἐπηγγέλκει Ἀλέξανδρος ξυνελθεῖν τοὺς ὑπάρχους τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης εἰς Ζαρίασπα, τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν, ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθῷ οὐδενὶ τοῦ ξυλλόγου γιγνομένου.

II. Ταῦτα ὡς ἀπηγγέλθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, παραγγείλας τοῖς πεζοῖς κατὰ λόχους κλίμακας ποιεῖσθαι ὅσαι ἑκάστῳ λόχῳ ἐπηγγέλθησαν, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὁρμηθεὶς πόλιν προὐχώρει, ᾗ ὄνομα ἦν Γάζα· ἐς γὰρ ἑπτὰ πόλεις ξυμπεφευγέναι ἐλέγοντο οἱ ἐκ τῆς χώρας βάρ-
2 βαροι· Κράτερον δὲ ἐκπέμπει πρὸς τὴν καλουμένην Κυρούπολιν, ἥπερ μεγίστη πασῶν καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν οἱ πλεῖστοι ξυνειλεγμένοι ἦσαν τῶν βαρβάρων. Παρήγγελτο δὲ αὐτῷ στρατοπεδεῦσαι πλησίον τῆς πόλεως καὶ τάφρον τε ἐν κύκλῳ αὐτῆς ὀρύξαι καὶ χάρακα περιβαλέσθαι καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς ὅσαις χρῆσθαι [προσῆκον] ξυμπηγνύναι, ὡς πρὸς τοὺς ἀμφὶ Κράτερον τὴν γνώμην τετραμμένοι οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ἀδύνατοι ὦσι ταῖς
3 ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ἐπωφελεῖν. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Γάζαν ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο, ὡς εἶχεν ἐξ ἐφόδου σημαίνει προσβάλλειν τῷ τείχει, γηΐνῳ τε καὶ οὐχ ὑψηλῷ ὄντι, προσθέντας ἐν κύκλῳ πάντοθεν τὰς κλίμακας· οἱ δὲ σφενδονῆται αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ τοξόται τε καὶ ἀκοντισταὶ ὁμοῦ τῇ ἐφόδῳ τῶν πεζῶν

then began to strengthen the cities more than before, for their security. There joined with them in this revolt the mass of the people of Sogdiana, stirred up to do so by the party which had arrested Bessus, so that these drew into their revolt some of the Bactrians too; it may be that the Bactrians were terrified of Alexander, or it may be that their seducers gave as a reason for their revolt that Alexander had instructed the chief men of that country to come to a joint conference at Zariaspa the capital; and that this conference boded no good.

II. When this was reported to Alexander, he ordered the infantry, section by section, to make so many ladders as were appointed to each section; and then he advanced to the first city you meet with on leaving the camp, called Gaza; for the tribesmen were said to have taken refuge in seven cities. Then he sent Craterus to that called Cyropolis; it was the greatest of them all, and the greatest number of refugees had collected there. Craterus was ordered to encamp near the city and to dig a ditch and to build a stockade round it, then to fix together such siege engines as he required, so that the defenders of this city might have their minds fully occupied with Craterus and his troops and so be unable to help those in the other cities. When Alexander himself, meanwhile, arrived at Gaza, on his first approach he at once ordered his men to attack the wall, which was made of earth and of no great height, and to place their ladders against it on all sides; while his slingers and archers and javelin-men, at the moment of the

ἐσηκόντιζον ἐς τοὺς προμαχομένους ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους καὶ βέλη ἀπὸ μηχανῶν ἠφίετο, ὥστε ὀξέως μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν βελῶν ἐγυμνώθη τὸ τεῖχος τῶν προμαχομένων, ταχεῖα δὲ ἡ πρόσθεσις τῶν κλιμάκων καὶ ἡ ἀνάβασις τῶν
4 Μακεδόνων ἡ ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐγίγνετο. Τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἄνδρας πάντας ἀπέκτειναν, οὕτως ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου προστεταγμένον· γυναῖκας δὲ καὶ παῖδας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην λείαν διήρπασαν. Ἔνθεν δὲ εὐθὺς ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὴν δευτέραν ἀπ' ἐκείνης πόλιν ᾠκισμένην· καὶ ταύτην τῷ αὐτῷ τε τρόπῳ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ λαμβάνει καὶ τοὺς ἁλόντας τὰ αὐτὰ ἔπραξεν. Ὁ δὲ ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὴν τρίτην πόλιν, καὶ ταύτην τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ προσβολῇ εἷλεν.

5 Ἐν ᾧ δὲ αὐτὸς ξὺν τοῖς πεζοῖς ἀμφὶ ταῦτα εἶχε, τοὺς ἱππέας ἐκπέμπει ἐς τὰς δύο τὰς πλησίον πόλεις, προστάξας παραφυλάττειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἔνδον, μήποτε τὴν ἅλωσιν αἰσθόμενοι τῶν πλησίον πόλεων καὶ ἅμα τὴν αὐτοῦ οὐ διὰ μακροῦ ἔφοδον, οἱ δὲ ἐς φυγὴν τραπέντες ἄποροι αὐτῷ διώκειν γένωνται. Καὶ ξυνέβη τε οὕτως ὅπως εἴκασε, καὶ ἐν δέοντι
6 ἐγένετο αὐτῷ ἡ πομπὴ τῶν ἱππέων. Οἱ γὰρ τὰς δύο τὰς οὔπω ἑαλωκυίας πόλεις ἔχοντες τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡς καπνόν τε εἶδον ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸ σφῶν πόλεως ἐμπιπραμένης καί τινες καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ διαφυγόντες αὐτάγγελοι τῆς ἁλώσεως ἐγένοντο, ὡς τάχους ἕκαστοι εἶχον ἀθρόοι ἐκ τῶν πόλεων φεύγοντες ἐμπίπτουσιν ἐς τὸ στῖφος τῶν ἱππέων ξυντεταγμένον καὶ κατεκόπησαν οἱ πλεῖστοι αὐτῶν.

infantry attack, showered volleys upon the first line of defence on the walls, and missiles were hurled from the catapults, so that the wall was soon cleared of defenders by the great shower of missiles, and thus the setting up of the ladders and the ascent of the Macedonians to the wall were rapidly accomplished. They put to the sword all the men, according to Alexander's orders; they carried off the women, and children, and the general plunder. Thence Alexander led on at once to the second city, which lay next to this one; it too he captured in the same fashion and on the same day, and treated his captives likewise. He advanced then to the third city, and this he took next day at the first assault.

While he himself was thus busied with his infantry, he despatched the cavalry to the two next cities, bidding them watch the inhabitants carefully lest learning of the capture of the neighbouring cities, and also of his own impending approach, they might take to flight, and pursuit might be impracticable. It fell out just as he anticipated, and the despatch of the cavalry came none too soon. For those tribesmen who held the two yet untaken cities, seeing the smoke rising from the city next in front of them, when it was fired, and when a few who escaped its catastrophe gave first-hand information of the capture, attempted as fast as they could to escape from these cities in a mass, but ran straight into the close cordon of cavalry, and the greater number of them were cut down.

III. Οὕτω δὴ τὰς πέντε πόλεις ἐν δυσὶν ἡμέραις ἑλών τε καὶ ἐξανδραποδισάμενος ᾔει ἐπὶ τὴν μεγίστην αὐτῶν τὴν Κυρούπολιν. Ἡ δὲ τετειχισμένη τε ἦν ὑψηλοτέρῳ τείχει ἤπερ αἱ ἄλλαι, οἷα δὴ ὑπὸ Κύρου οἰκισθεῖσα, καὶ τοῦ πλείστου καὶ μαχιμωτάτου τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβάρων ἐς ταύτην συμπεφευγότος, οὐχ ὡσαύτως ῥᾳδία ἐξ ἐφόδου ἑλεῖν τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐγίγνετο. Ἀλλὰ μηχανὰς γὰρ προσάγων τῷ τείχει Ἀλέξανδρος ταύτῃ μὲν κατασείειν ἐπενόει τὸ τεῖχος καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἀεὶ παραρρηγνύμενον αὐτοῦ τὰς
2 προσβολὰς ποιεῖσθαι. Αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς κατεῖδε τοὺς ἔκρους τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ὃς διὰ τῆς πόλεως χειμάρρους ὢν διέρχεται, ξηροὺς ἐν τῷ τότε ὕδατος καὶ οὐ ξυνεχεῖς τοῖς τείχεσιν, ἀλλ' οἵους παρασχεῖν πάροδον τοῖς στρατιώταις διαδῦναι ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἀναλαβὼν τούς τε σωματοφύλακας καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας, τετραμμένων τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς τὰς μηχανὰς καὶ τοὺς ταύτῃ προσμαχομένους λανθάνει κατὰ τοὺς ἔκρους ξὺν ὀλίγοις τὸ πρῶτον
3 παρελθὼν ἐς τὴν πόλιν· ἀναρρήξας δὲ ἔνδοθεν τῶν πυλῶν αἳ κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἦσαν, δέχεται καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας εὐπετῶς. Ἔνθα δὴ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐχομένην ἤδη τὴν πόλιν αἰσθόμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ὅμως ἐτράπησαν· καὶ γίνεται προσβολὴ αὐτῶν καρτερά· καὶ βάλλεται λίθῳ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος βιαίως τήν τε κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸν αὐχένα καὶ Κράτερος τοξεύματι καὶ πολλοὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὣς
4 ἐξέωσαν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τοὺς βαρβάρους. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ κατὰ τὸ τεῖχος προσβεβληκότες ἔρημον

III. And thus after capturing the five cities in two days and enslaving the survivors, Alexander marched against the greatest of them, Cyropolis. This was walled with a higher wall than the rest, since Cyrus had founded it; and as the greatest number and the most stalwart of the tribesmen of the district had taken refuge in it, it was not so easy for the Macdonians to capture it straight off. However, Alexander brought up engines to the wall and proposed on this side to batter the wall, and then, as breaches occurred, to make his assaults through them. But when he personally observed that the channels of the river which, being a winter torrent only, runs through the city, were dry at the time, and did not reach up to the wall, but were low enough to permit a passage to soldiers by which to pass into the city, he took the bodyguards and the shield-carrying guards, the archers and the Agrianes, and while the tribesmen were engaged with the siege-engines and those assaulting on this side, he slipped through the channels, at first with only a few men, and penetrated into the city; then breaking open from within the gates which were on that side, he easily admitted the rest of the troops. Then the tribesmen, seeing that their city was already in the enemy's hands, none the less turned upon Alexander and his force, and they made a vigorous onslaught, and Alexander himself was struck violently with a stone upon his head and his neck; and Craterus was wounded by an arrow and many others of the officers also. Yet none the less they cleared the market-place of the tribesmen. Meanwhile those who had assaulted the

ἤδη τὸ τεῖχος τῶν προμαχομένων αἱροῦσιν. Ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ πρώτῃ καταλήψει τῆς πόλεως ἀπέθανον τῶν πολεμίων μάλιστα ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους· οἱ δὲ λοιποί (ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ πάντες ἐς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους μαχίμους οἱ ξυνεληλυθότες) καταφεύγουσιν ἐς τὴν ἄκραν. Καὶ τούτους περιστρατοπεδεύσας Ἀλέξανδρος ἡμέραν μίαν ἐφρούρησεν· οἱ δὲ ἐνδείᾳ ὕδατος ἐνεχείρισαν σφᾶς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ.

5 Τὴν δὲ ἑβδόμην πόλιν ἐξ ἐφόδου ἔλαβε, Πτολεμαῖος μὲν λέγει ὅτι αὐτοὺς σφᾶς ἐνδόντας· Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ ὅτι βίᾳ καὶ ταύτην ἐξεῖλε καὶ ὅτι πάντας τοὺς καταληφθέντας ἐν αὐτῇ ἀπέκτεινε. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ κατανεῖμαι λέγει αὐτὸν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ δεδεμένους κελεῦσαι φυλάσσεσθαι ἔστ' ἂν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπαλλάττηται αὐτός, ὡς μηδένα ἀπολείπεσθαι τῶν τὴν ἀπόστασιν πραξάντων.

6 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας Σκυθῶν στρατιὰ ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὰς ὄχθας τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ταναΐδος, ἀκούσαντες οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ὅτι ἔστιν οἳ καὶ τῶν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα τοῦ ποταμοῦ βαρβάρων ἀπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀφεστᾶσιν, ὡς εἰ δή τι λόγου ἂν[1] ἄξιον νεωτερίζοιτο, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπιθησόμενοι τοῖς Μακεδόσιν. Καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Σπιταμένην δὲ ἀπηγγέλθη ὅτι τοὺς ἐν Μαρακάνδοις καταλειφθέντας ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ πολιορκοῦσιν.

7 Ἔνθα δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Σπιταμένην Ἀνδρόμαχόν τε ἀποστέλλει καὶ Μενέδημον καὶ Κάρανον, ἱππέας μὲν ἔχοντας τῶν ἑταίρων ἐς

[1] ἂν seems impossible; Polak suggests ὄν; Krüger οὐκ ἀνάξιον; Abicht ἀντάξιον.

wall seized it, now denuded of defenders. In the first capture of the city about eight thousand of the enemy perished; the rest—the whole number gathered together there was some fifteen thousand fighting men—took refuge in the citadel: these Alexander watched, camping about them, the space of one day; and then they, from want of water, surrendered to Alexander.

The seventh city he took without trouble. Ptolemaeus says they surrendered; but Aristobulus, that Alexander captured this also by force, and slew all whom he found within it; but Ptolemaeus also says that he distributed the men among his army and ordered them to be bound and under guard till he should leave their country, so that none of those responsible for the revolt should be left behind.

Meanwhile an army of the Asian Scythians arrived on the banks of the river Tanais; most of these had heard that some of the natives on the far side of the river had revolted from Alexander and had the intention, should any important rising occur, to join themselves also in attacking the Macedonians. News was also brought that Spitamenes and his troops were besieging those who had been left behind in Marakanda in the citadel. On this Alexander sent against the troops of Spitamenes, Andromachus, Menedemas, and Caranus, with sixty horsemen of the Companions

ἑξήκοντα καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων ὀκτακοσίους, ὧν Κάρανος ἡγεῖτο, πεζοὺς δὲ μισθοφόρους ἐς χιλίους πεντακοσίους· ἐπιτάσσει δὲ αὐτοῖς Φαρνούχην τὸν ἑρμηνέα, τὸ μὲν γένος Λύκιον τὸν Φαρνούχην, ἐμπείρως δὲ τῆς τε φωνῆς τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβάρων ἔχοντα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὁμιλῆσαι αὐτοῖς δεξιὸν φαινόμενον.

IV. Αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἣν ἐπενόει τειχίσας ἐν ἡμέραις εἴκοσι καὶ ξυνοικίσας ἐς αὐτὴν τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων μισθοφόρων καὶ ὅστις τῶν προσοικούντων βαρβάρων ἐθελοντὴς μετέσχε τῆς ξυνοικίσεως καί τινας καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου Μακεδόνων, ὅσοι ἀπόμαχοι ἤδη ἦσαν, θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς ὡς νόμος αὐτῷ καὶ ἀγῶνα ἱππικόν τε καὶ γυμνικὸν ποιήσας, ὡς οὐκ ἀπαλλασσομένους ἑώρα τοὺς Σκύθας ἀπὸ τῆς ὄχθης
2 τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐκτοξεύοντες ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἑωρῶντο, οὐ πλατὺν ταύτῃ ὄντα, καί τινα καὶ πρὸς ὕβριν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου βαρβαρικῶς ἐθρασύνοντο, ὡς οὐκ ἂν τολμήσαντα Ἀλέξανδρον ἅψασθαι Σκυθῶν ἢ μαθόντα ἂν ὅ τιπερ τὸ διάφορον Σκύθαις τε καὶ τοῖς Ἀσιανοῖς βαρβάροις, ὑπὸ τούτων παροξυνόμενος ἐπενόει διαβαίνειν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς διφθέρας παρεσ-
3 κεύαζεν ἐπὶ τῷ πόρῳ. Θυομένῳ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει τὰ ἱερὰ οὐκ ἐγίγνετο· ὁ δὲ βαρέως μὲν ἔφερεν οὐ γιγνομένων, ὅμως δὲ ἐκαρτέρει καὶ ἔμενεν. Ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἀνίεσαν οἱ Σκύθαι, αὖθις ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει ἐθύετο· καὶ αὖ ἐς κίνδυνον αὐτῷ σημαίνεσθαι Ἀρίστανδρος ὁ μάντις ἔφραζεν· ὁ δὲ κρεῖσσον ἔφη ἐς ἔσχατον κινδύνου ἐλθεῖν ἢ κατεστραμμένον ξύμπασαν ὀλίγου δεῖν τὴν

and eight hundred of the mercenaries under Caranus, and mercenary infantry up to fifteen hundred; and he attached to these Pharnuches the interpreter, a Lycian by race who knew well the speech of the natives of this country and in all other ways appeared skilful in dealing with them.

IV. Alexander himself now spent twenty days in building the wall of the city which he proposed to found, and arranged to settle there any of the Greek mercenaries and any of the neighbouring tribesmen who had as volunteers shared in the settlement, with some of the Macedonians too from the camp, so many as were no longer fit for active service. He then sacrificed to the usual gods and held a cavalry and athletic contest; and seeing that the Scythians did not leave the river bank but were observed shooting arrows into the river, which was not very broad here, and besides uttered rough braggart taunts to insult Alexander, to the effect that Alexander would not dare to touch the Scythians, or, if he did, would learn what was the difference between Scythians and the barbarians of Asia, being much irritated by these he was minded to cross and attack them, and began to get ready the hides for the crossing. However, when he sacrificed with a view to the crossing the sacrifice was not favourable. At this Alexander was much annoyed, but yet he restrained himself and stayed where he was. However, as the Scythians still continued, he sacrificed again with a view to crossing, and once more Aristander the prophet said that danger was signified to him. But Alexander replied that it was better to go to any extremity of danger than, after subduing almost all Asia, to be a laugh-

Ἀσίαν γέλωτα εἶναι Σκύθαις, καθάπερ Δαρεῖος ὁ Ξέρξου πατὴρ πάλαι ἐγένετο. Ἀρίστανδρος δὲ οὐκ ἔφη παρὰ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θείου σημαινόμενα ἄλλα ἀποδείξασθαι, ὅτι ἄλλα ἐθέλει ἀκοῦσαι Ἀλέξανδρος.

4 Ὁ δέ, ὡς αἵ τε διφθέραι αὐτῷ παρεσκευασμέναι ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῷ πόρῳ καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἐξωπλισμένος ἐφειστήκει τῷ ποταμῷ, αἵ τε μηχαναὶ ἀπὸ ξυνθήματος ἐξηκόντιζον ἐς τοὺς Σκύθας παριππεύοντας ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ καὶ ἔστιν οἳ αὐτῶν ἐτιτρώσκοντο ἐκ τῶν βελῶν, εἷς δὲ δὴ διὰ τοῦ γέρρου τε καὶ τοῦ θώρακος διαμπὰξ πληγεὶς πίπτει ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, οἱ μὲν ἐξεπλάγησαν πρός τε τῶν βελῶν τὴν διὰ μακροῦ ἄφεσιν καὶ ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς αὐτοῖς τετελευτήκει, καὶ
5 ὀλίγον ἀνεχώρησαν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄχθης· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τεταραγμένους πρὸς τὰ βέλη ἰδὼν ὑπὸ σαλπίγγων ἐπέρα τὸν ποταμὸν αὐτὸς ἡγούμενος· εἵπετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη στρατιά. Πρῶτον μὲν δὴ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς σφενδονήτας ἀποβιβάσας σφενδονᾶν τε καὶ ἐκτοξεύειν ἐκέλευσεν ἐς τοὺς Σκύθας, ὡς μὴ πελάζειν αὐτοὺς τῇ φάλαγγι τῶν πεζῶν ἐκβαινούσῃ πρὶν τὴν ἵππον
6 αὐτῷ διαβῆναι πᾶσαν. Ὡς δὲ ἀθρόοι ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ ἐγένοντο, ἀφῆκεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκύθας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον μίαν ἱππαρχίαν τῶν ξένων καὶ τῶν σαρισσοφόρων ἴλας τέσσαρας· καὶ τούτους δεξάμενοι οἱ Σκύθαι καὶ ἐς κύκλους περιιππεύοντες ἔβαλλόν τε πολλοὶ ὀλίγους, αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐ χαλεπῶς διεφύγγανον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τούς τε τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ψιλούς, ὧν Βάλακρος ἦρχεν, ἀναμίξας τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν

ing-stock to Scythians, as Dareius the father of Xerxes had been long ago.[1] But Aristander refused to declare otherwise than the sacrifices had portended, merely because Alexander desired a different report.

So as soon as the hides had been got ready for him for the crossing, and the army in full marching order was drawn up on the river bank, and after the catapults, when the order was given, had hurled their volleys upon the Scythians who were riding along the bank, some of them being wounded by the missiles, and one actually pierced right through his shield and corslet fell from his horse, the Scythians were amazed at the long-range discharge of the missiles and at the death of one of the best men and retreated a little from the bank. Alexander thereupon, seeing them in disorder because of the missiles, sounded his bugles and began the crossing of the river, himself leading the way; the rest of the army followed him. He disembarked first the archers and slingers, and bade them sling and shoot at the Scythians, to keep them from approaching the phalanx of the infantry as it was disembarked, before the cavalry had all crossed. When they were all in a body on the bank, he launched at the Scythians first a regiment of the mercenaries and four squadrons of spearmen. The Scythians, who were in strong force, awaited them, and then rode round the smaller party of the enemy, which kept shooting at them, while they themselves easily managed to escape by flight. Alexander then massed together his archers, the Agrianes, and the other light troops, under Balacrus,

[1] See Herod, iv. 122 foll.

7 ἐπῆγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκύθας. Ὡς δὲ ὁμοῦ ἤδη ἐγίγνοντο, ἐλάσαι ἐκέλευσεν ἐς αὐτοὺς τῶν τε ἑταίρων τρεῖς ἱππαρχίας καὶ τοὺς ἱππακοντιστὰς ξύμπαντας· καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν λοιπὴν ἵππον ἄγων σπουδῇ ἐνέβαλεν ὀρθίαις ταῖς ἴλαις. Οὔκουν ἔτι οἷοί τε ἦσαν ἐξελίσσειν τὴν ἱππασίαν ἐς κύκλους, ὡς πρόσθεν ἔτι· ὁμοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἡ ἵππος προσέκειτο αὐτοῖς, ὁμοῦ δὲ οἱ ψιλοὶ ἀναμεμιγμένοι τοῖς ἱππεῦσι, καὶ οὐκ ἦν τὰς
8 ἐπιστροφὰς ἀσφαλεῖς ποιεῖσθαι. Ἔνθα λαμπρὰ ἤδη φυγὴ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἦν· καὶ πίπτουσι μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς χιλίους καὶ εἷς τῶν ἡγεμόνων, Σατράκης, ἑάλωσαν δὲ ἐς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα. Ὡς δὲ ἡ δίωξις ὀξεῖά τε καὶ διὰ καύματος πολλοῦ ταλαιπώρως ἐγίγνετο, δίψει τε ἡ στρατιὰ πᾶσα εἴχετο καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐλαύνων πίνει
9 ὁποῖον ἦν ὕδωρ ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐκείνῃ. Καὶ ἦν γὰρ πονηρὸν τὸ ὕδωρ, ῥεῦμα ἀθρόον κατασκήπτει αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν γαστέρα· καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἡ δίωξις οὐκ ἐπὶ πάντων Σκυθῶν ἐγένετο· εἰ δὲ μή, δοκοῦσιν ἄν μοι καὶ πάντες διαφθαρῆναι ἐν τῇ φυγῇ, εἰ μὴ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὸ σῶμα ἔκαμε. Καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς ἔσχατον κινδύνου ἐλθὼν ἐκομίσθη ὀπίσω ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. Καὶ οὕτω ξυνέβη ἡ μαντεία Ἀριστάνδρῳ.

V. Ὀλίγον δὲ ὕστερον παρὰ τῶν Σκυθῶν καὶ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Σκυθῶν ἀφικνοῦνται παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον πρέσβεις, ὑπὲρ τῶν πραχθέντων ἐς ἀπολογίαν ἐκπεμφθέντες, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἐπράχθη, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἁρπαγὴν λῃστρικῷ τρόπῳ σταλέντων, καὶ αὐτὸς ὅτι ἐθέλει ποιεῖν τὰ ἐπαγγελλόμενα. Καὶ τούτῳ φιλάν-

with the cavalry, and led them against the Scythians. Then, when they were quite close, he ordered three regiments of the Companions and all the mounted javelin-men to charge them; and he himself brought up the rest of the cavalry at full speed and charged with his squadrons in column. So the Scythians were no longer able to wheel round in circles as they had been doing just before; for the Greek cavalry was now pressing them at close quarters, and at the same moment the light troops, mingling with the cavalry, prevented their wheeling about to the attack with any security. In fact the flight of the Scythians was by now manifest; there fell of them about a thousand, with one of their commanders, Satraces, while about a hundred and fifty were captured. The pursuit was sharp, and was distressing because of the great heat, so that all the army was consumed by thirst, and Alexander himself as he rode on drank whatever kind of water there was in that district. The water was, however, unwholesome, and so a constant diarrhœa suddenly seized him; and for this reason the pursuit did not extend to the whole body of Scythians. Otherwise I am inclined to think that they would all have perished in their flight, had not Alexander had this seizure. He fell indeed into serious danger, and was carried back into the camp, and in this way Aristander's prophecy came true.

V. Soon afterwards envoys reached Alexander from the king of the Scythians; they had been sent to express regret for what had occurred, on the ground that it had not been any united action of the Scythian state, but only that of raiders and freebooters; the king himself, moreover, was desirous to perform what was laid upon him. Alexander gave a polite

θρωπα ἐπιστέλλει Ἀλέξανδρος, ὅτι οὔτε ἀπιστοῦντα μὴ ἐπεξιέναι καλὸν αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο, οὔτε κατὰ καιρὸν ἦν ἐν τῷ τότε ἐπεξιέναι.

2 Οἱ δὲ ἐν Μαρακάνδοις ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ φρουρούμενοι Μακεδόνες, προσβολῆς γενομένης τῇ ἄκρᾳ ἐκ Σπιταμένους τε καὶ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτόν, ἐπεκδραμόντες ἀπέκτεινάν τε τῶν πολεμίων ἔστιν οὓς καὶ ἀπώσαντο ξύμπαντας, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπαθεῖς ἀπεχώ-
3 ρησαν ἐς τὴν ἄκραν. Ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐσταλμένοι ἐς Μαράκανδα ἤδη προσάγοντες Σπιταμένει ἐξηγγέλλοντο, τὴν μὲν πολιορκίαν ἐκλείπει τῆς ἄκρας, αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἐς τὰ βασίλεια[1] τῆς Σογδιανῆς ἀνεχώρει. Φαρνούχης δὲ καὶ οἱ ξὺν αὐτῷ στρατηγοὶ σπεύδοντες ἐξελάσαι αὐτὸν παντάπασιν ἐπί τε τὰ ὅρια τῆς Σογδιανῆς ξυνείποντο ὑποχωροῦντι καὶ εἰς τοὺς Νομάδας τοὺς Σκύθας οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ ξυνεσβάλλουσιν.
4 Ἔνθα δὴ προσλαβὼν ὁ Σπιταμένης τῶν Σκυθῶν ἱππέων ἐς ἑξακοσίους προσεπήρθη ὑπὸ τῆς ξυμμαχίας τῆς Σκυθικῆς δέξασθαι ἐπιόντας τοὺς Μακεδόνας· παραταξάμενος δὲ ἐν χωρίῳ ὁμαλῷ πρὸς τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῆς Σκυθικῆς ὑπομεῖναι μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ αὐτὸς ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐμβαλεῖν οὐκ ἤθελε, περιιππεύων δὲ ἐτόξευεν ἐς τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν
5 πεζῶν. Καὶ ἐπελαυνόντων μὲν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀμφὶ Φαρνούχην, ἔφευγεν εὐπετῶς, οἷα δὴ ὠκυτέρων τε αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐν τῷ τότε ἀκμαιοτέρων ὄντων τῶν ἵππων; τοῖς δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἀνδρόμαχον ὑπό τε τῆς ξυνεχοῦς πορείας καὶ ἅμα χιλοῦ ἀπορίᾳ κεκάκωτο ἡ ἵππος· μένουσι δὲ ἢ ὑποχωροῦσιν ἐπέκειντο

[1] Βασίλεια A, but Maracanda was the capital. Polack Βόρεια.

answer, since it seemed dishonourable not to continue the expedition, if he distrusted the king, and yet it was not exactly the best moment to make the expedition.

The Macedonians, meanwhile, who were being watched in the citadel at Maracanda, on an assault being made on the citadel by Spitamenes and his troops, made a sally and killed some of the enemy, while they drove off the whole body, themselves retiring unharmed to the citadel. As soon, however, as Spitamenes heard that the force sent by Alexander to Maracanda was already drawing near, he left the siege of the citadel and himself retreated as if to the chief city of Sogdiana.[1] Pharnuches, however, and the officers with him, hurrying on to drive him off altogether, pursued him as he retreated towards the frontiers of Sogdiana, and unheedingly made a general attack on the nomad Scythians. On this Spitamenes, adding to his force some six hundred Scythian horse, was encouraged by this alliance of the Scythians to await the Macedonians as they came on; he drew up his men on a level space near the Scythian desert, but had no intention of merely awaiting the enemy or himself making a charge upon them, but wheeling round and round shot volleys of arrows into the infantry phalanx. Then when Pharnuches' troops charged them, they had no difficulty in riding off, their horses being swifter and at the moment fresher, while the horses of Andromachus' troops were distressed by the forced march and want of fodder, so that whether they stood their ground or withdrew, the Scythians swooped vigorously upon

[1] Some error, possibly. Maracanda (Samarcand) was itself the capital.

6 εὐρώστως οἱ Σκύθαι. Ἔνθα δὴ πολλῶν μὲν τιτρωσκομένων ἐκ τῶν τοξευμάτων, ἔστι δ' ὧν καὶ πιπτόντων, ἐς πλαίσιον ἰσόπλευρον τάξαντες τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀνεχώρουν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Πολυτίμητον, ὅτι νάπος ταύτῃ ἦν, ὡς μήτε τοῖς βαρβάροις εὐπετὲς ἔτι εἶναι ἐκτοξεύειν ἐς αὐτούς, σφίσι τε οἱ πεζοὶ ὠφελιμώτεροι ὦσι.

7 Κάρανος δὲ ὁ ἱππάρχης οὐκ ἀνακοινώσας Ἀνδρομάχῳ διαβαίνειν ἐπεχείρησε τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς ἐς ἀσφαλὲς ταύτῃ καταστήσων τὴν ἵππον· καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ αὐτῷ ἐπηκολούθησαν, οὐκ ἐκ παραγγέλματος, ἀλλὰ φοβερά τε καὶ οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς ἡ ἔσβασις ἡ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν κατὰ
8 κρημνώδεις τὰς ὄχθας. Καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι αἰσθόμενοι τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τῶν Μακεδόνων, αὐτοῖς ἵπποις ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν ἐσβάλλουσιν ἐς τὸν πόρον. Καὶ οἱ μὲν τῶν ἤδη διαβεβηκότων καὶ ἀποχωρούντων εἴχοντο, οἱ δὲ τοὺς διαβαίνοντας ἀντιμέτωποι ταχθέντες ἀνεῖλουν ἐς τὸν ποταμόν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πλαγίων ἐτόξευον ἐς αὐτούς, οἱ δὲ
9 τοῖς ἔτι ἐσβαίνουσιν ἐπέκειντο, ὥστε ἀπορίᾳ πάντοθεν συνεχόμενοι οἱ Μακεδόνες ἐς νῆσόν τινα τῶν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ συμφεύγουσιν οὐ μεγάλην. Καὶ περιστάντες αὐτοὺς οἱ Σκύθαι τε καὶ οἱ ξὺν Σπιταμένει ἱππεῖς ἐν κύκλῳ πάντας κατετόξευσαν· ὀλίγους δὲ ἠνδραποδίσαντο αὐτῶν, καὶ τούτους πάντας ἀπέκτειναν.

VI. Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ ἐνέδρᾳ τὸ πολὺ τῆς στρατιᾶς διαφθαρῆναι λέγει, τῶν Σκυθῶν ἐν παραδείσῳ κρυφέντων, οἳ ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς ἐπεγένοντο τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ· ἵνα τὸν μὲν Φαρνούχην παραχωρεῖν τῆς ἡγεμονίας

them. And now as a good number of men were being wounded by the arrows, and some actually falling, the officers formed their men into a square and withdrew towards the river Polytimetus, where was a wooded glen near by, so that the Scythians could no longer easily shoot at them, and they themselves could make more use of their infantry.

Caranus, however, the commander of the cavalry, without notifying Andromachus attempted to cross the river, hoping to get his cavalry into safety on this side, and the infantry followed him, not receiving any instructions to do so, but making a panic-stricken and disorderly descent into the river from the precipitous banks. The Scythians seeing this error of the Macedonians, mounted as they were, dashed from all directions into the stream. Some pressed on after those who had already crossed and were retreating, others ranging themselves athwart pulled down into the river those who were trying to cross, others again from the flanks showered arrows at them, and others pressed on such as were just entering the river. Then the Macedonians, helpless every way, took refuge in a body on a small island in the river. The Scythians flocking round them, with Spitamenes' cavalry, in a circle, shot them all down; a few they took as prisoners, but killed all these also.

VI. Aristobulus, however, states that the greater part of this force was destroyed by an ambush, the Scythians having hidden themselves in a park; then they suddenly burst forth upon the Macedonians from their concealment just at the beginning of the action, just at the moment when Pharnuches was

τοῖς ξυμπεμφθεῖσι Μακεδόσιν, ὡς οὐκ ἐμπείρως
ἔχοντα ἔργων πολεμικῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ καθομιλῆ-
σαι τοὺς βαρβάρους μᾶλλόν τι πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου
ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἐσταλμένον,
τοὺς δὲ Μακεδόνας τε εἶναι καὶ ἑταίρους
2 Βασιλέως. Ἀνδρόμαχον δὲ καὶ Κάρανον καὶ
Μενέδημον οὐ δέξασθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, τὸ μέν
τι ὡς μὴ δοκεῖν παρὰ τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα ὑπὸ
Ἀλεξάνδρου αὐτούς τι κατὰ σφᾶς νεωτερίζειν,
τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ δεινῷ οὐκ ἐθελήσαντας,
εἰ δή τι πταίσειαν, μὴ ὅσον κατ' ἄνδρα μόνον
μετέχειν αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς τὸ πᾶν αὐτοὺς
κακῶς ἐξηγησαμένους. Ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ θορύβῳ
τε καὶ τῇ ἀταξίᾳ ἐπιθεμένους αὐτοῖς τοὺς βαρ-
βάρους κατακόψαι πάντας, ὥστε ἱππέας μὲν οὐ
πλείονας τῶν τεσσαράκοντα ἀποσωθῆναι, πεζοὺς
δὲ ἐς τριακοσίους.

3 Ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ἠγγέλθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἤλγησέ τε
τῷ πάθει τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ ἔγνω σπουδῇ
ἐλαύνειν ὡς ἐπὶ Σπιταμένην τε καὶ τοὺς ἀμφ'
αὐτὸν βαρβάρους. Ἀναλαβὼν οὖν τῶν τε
ἑταίρων ἱππέων τοὺς ἡμίσεας καὶ τοὺς ὑπασ-
πιστὰς ξύμπαντας καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς
Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος τοὺς κουφοτά-
τους ᾔει ὡς ἐπὶ Μαράκανδα, ἵνα ἐπανή-
κειν Σπιταμένην ἐπυνθάνετο καὶ αὖθις πολιορ-
4 κεῖν τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ. Καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν τρισὶν
ἡμέραις διελθὼν χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους στα-
δίους, τῇ τετάρτῃ ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω προσῆγε τῇ πόλει.
Σπιταμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτόν, ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη
προσάγων Ἀλέξανδρος, οὐκ ἔμειναν, ἀλλ' ἐκλι-
5 πόντες τὴν πόλιν φεύγουσιν. Ὁ δὲ ἐχόμενος

retiring from his command in favour of the Macedonians who had been sent with him, on the ground that he was not skilled in military actions, but had been sent by Alexander rather to treat with the natives than to act as leader in battles, while they were both Macedonians and Companions of the king. Andromachus, however, and Caranus and Menedemus did not accept the command, partly that they might not appear to take any fresh action on their own account over and above the commands of Alexander; and partly because in the face of this danger they did not wish to take any individual share in defeat, should this happen; much less to bear the blame, as a body, of having proved bad generals. In this confusion and disorder the Scythians charged down and cut them down in large numbers, so that of cavalry not more than forty escaped, and of foot-soldiers about three hundred.

When this was reported to Alexander he was much distressed at this disaster to his men and decided to march at full speed upon Spitamenes and the tribesmen with him. Accordingly, he took half of the Companions' cavalry, the archers and the Agrianes, and, of the phalanx, the lightest-armed, and marched on Maracanda, whither he had learnt that Spitamenes had returned and was again besieging the garrison in the citadel. Alexander traversed fifteen hundred stades in three days, and on the fourth about dawn approached the city. But Spitamenes and his troops, learning that Alexander was drawing near, did not await him but left the city and fled. Alexander pur-

αὐτῶν ἐδίωκεν· ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν χῶρον ἧκεν οὗ ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, θάψας τοὺς στρατιώτας ὡς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων εἵπετο ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρημον τοῖς φεύγουσιν. Ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἀναστρέφων ἐπόρθει τὴν χώραν καὶ τοὺς ἐς τὰ ἐρύματα καταπεφευγότας τῶν βαρβάρων ἔκτεινεν, ὅτι ξυνεπιθέσθαι ἐξηγγέλλοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῖς Μακεδόσι· καὶ ἐπῆλθε πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν ὅσην ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ Πολυτί-
6 μητος ἐπάρδων ἐπέρχεται. Ἵνα δὲ ἀφανίζεται τῷ ποταμῷ τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη τὸ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα ἔρημος ἡ χώρα ἐστίν· ἀφανίζεται δέ, καίπερ πολλοῦ ὢν ὕδατος, ἐς τὴν ψάμμον. Καὶ ἄλλοι ποταμοὶ ὡσαύτως ἐκεῖ ἀφανίζονται μεγάλοι καὶ ἀένναοι, ὅ τε Ἔπαρδος, ὃς ῥέει διὰ Μάρδων τῆς χώρας, καὶ Ἄρειος, ὅτου ἐπώνυμος ἡ τῶν Ἀρείων γῆ ἐστι, καὶ Ἐτύμανδρος, ὃς δι' Εὐεργετῶν ῥέει.
7 Καὶ εἰσὶ ξύμπαντες οὗτοι τηλικοῦτοι ποταμοὶ ὥστε οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν μείων ἐστὶ τοῦ Πηνειοῦ τοῦ Θεσσαλικοῦ ποταμοῦ, ὃς διὰ τῶν Τεμπῶν ῥέων ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς θάλασσαν· ὁ δὲ Πολυτίμητος πολὺ ἔτι μείζων ἢ κατὰ τὸν Πηνειὸν ποταμόν ἐστι.

VII. Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος ἐς Ζαρίασπα ἀφίκετο· καὶ αὐτοῦ κατέμενεν ἔστε παρελθεῖν τὸ ἀκμαῖον τοῦ χειμῶνος. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀφίκοντο παρ' αὐτὸν Φραταφέρνης τε ὁ Παρθυαίων σατράπης καὶ Στασάνωρ ὁ ἐς Ἀρείους ἀποπεμφθεὶς ὡς Ἀρσάμην συλληψόμενος, τόν τε Ἀρσάμην δεδεμένον ἄγοντες καὶ Βαρζάνην, ὅντινα Βῆσσος τῆς Παρθυαίων σατράπην κατέστησε, καί τινας ἄλλους τῶν τότε ξὺν Βήσσῳ
2 ἀποστάντων. Ἧκον δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ Ἐπόκιλλος καὶ Μελαμνίδας καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν

sued him closely; and when he reached the place where the battle took place, he buried the soldiers as best he could and followed the fugitives right up to the desert. Thence he turned back, and ravaged the district, and slew such of the tribesmen as had taken refuge in the forts, because they too were reported to have joined in the attack on the Macedonians. He traversed the entire country which the river Polytimetus waters, but when the water of the river comes to an end, thence beyond the country is all desert: the stream, though of considerable volume of water, vanishes into the sand. Other rivers, great and perennial ones, disappear there in the same way; the Epardus, which runs through the Mardian country, the Areius, which gives its name to the country Areia, and the Etymandrus, which runs through the country of the Euergetae. All these rivers are of a size such that none is smaller than the Peneius, the river of Thessaly which runs through Tempe and discharges into the sea; the Polytimetus, however, is out of all comparison larger than the Peneius.

VII. When Alexander had completed this, he arrived at Zariaspa; and there he remained till the depth of winter should pass. Meanwhile there came to him Phrataphernes the satrap of Parthyaea and Stasanor who had been sent to Areia to arrest Arsames, bringing Arsames in chains, and Barzanes, whom Bessus had made satrap of Parthyaea; and others also of those who had revolted with Bessus. There arrived at the same time from the seacoast Epocillus and Melamnidas and Ptolemaeus the

στρατηγὸς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, οἳ τά τε χρήματα [τὰ] ξὺν Μένητι πεμφθέντα καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατήγαγον. Καὶ *Ἄσανδρος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἧκε καὶ Νέαρχος, στρατιὰν Ἑλλήνων μισθοφόρων ἄγοντες, καὶ Βῆσσός τε ὁ Συρίας σατράπης καὶ Ἀσκληπιόδωρος ὁ ὕπαρχος ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, καὶ οὗτοι στρατιὰν ἄγοντες.*

3 *Ἔνθα δὴ ξύλλογον ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ξυναγαγὼν Ἀλέξανδρος παρήγαγεν ἐς αὐτοὺς Βῆσσον· καὶ κατηγορήσας τὴν Δαρείου προδοσίαν τήν τε ῥῖνα Βήσσου ἀποτμηθῆναι καὶ τὰ ὦτα ἄκρα ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐς Ἐκβάταια ἄγεσθαι, ὡς ἐκεῖ ἐν τῷ Μήδων τε καὶ Περσῶν ξυλλόγῳ*

4 *ἀποθανούμενον.* Καὶ *ἐγὼ οὔτε τὴν ἄγαν ταύτην τιμωρίαν Βήσσου ἐπαινῶ, ἀλλὰ βαρβαρικὴν εἶναι τίθεμαι τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων τὴν λώβην καὶ ὑπαχθῆναι Ἀλέξανδρον ξύμφημι ἐς ζῆλον τοῦ Μηδικοῦ τε καὶ Περσικοῦ πλούτου καὶ τῆς κατὰ τοὺς βαρβάρους βασιλέας οὐκ ἴσης ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ξυνδιαιτήσεως, ἐσθῆτά τε ὅτι Μηδικὴν ἀντὶ τῆς Μακεδονικῆς τε καὶ πατρίου Ἡρακλείδης ὢν μετέλαβεν, οὐδαμῇ ἐπαινῶ, καὶ τὴν κίταριν τὴν Περσικὴν τῶν νενικημένων ἀντὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ὁ νικῶν πάλαι ἐφόρει ἀμεῖψαι οὐκ ἐπη-*

5 *δέσθη, οὐδὲν τούτων ἐπαινῶ, ἀλλ᾽ εἴπερ τι ἄλλο, καὶ τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου μεγάλα πράγματα ἐς τεκμηρίωσιν τίθεμαι ὡς οὔτε τὸ σῶμα ὅτῳ εἴη καρτερόν, οὔτε ὅστις γένει ἐπιφανής, οὔτε κατὰ πόλεμον εἰ δή τις διευτυχοίη ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀλέξανδρος, οὐδὲ εἰ τὴν Λιβύην τις πρὸς τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, καθάπερ οὖν ἐπενόει ἐκεῖνος, ἐκπεριπλεύσας κατάσχοι, οὐδὲ εἰ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τε καὶ Λιβύῃ*

general of the Thracians; they had escorted the treasure sent with Menes and the allies down to the sea. Asander also came at this time and Nearchus, bringing a Greek mercenary force, and Bessus the satrap of Syria, and Asclepiodorus the deputy, from the sea, they also bringing an army.

Then Alexander summoned a conference of those with him and brought out Bessus before them, and accusing Bessus of treachery towards Dareius and commanded that his nose and tips of the ears should be cut off, and that he should be carried to Ecbatana, there to be put to death in the full gathering of Medes and Persians. This over-punishing of Bessus I cannot approve; I regard as barbaric the mutilation of the extremities, and I agree that Alexander was carried away to the extent both of copying Medic and Persian splendour, and also the fashion of barbaric kings to treat their subjects as lower creatures. Nor do I at all commend his taking to Median garb instead of the Macedonian traditional dress, especially since he was a descendant of Heracles. Moreover, he did not blush to exchange the head-dress he had long worn as a conqueror for the tiara of the conquered Persians. I commend none of these things, but I hold that Alexander's own splendid achievements prove, if aught can prove, that neither vigorous bodily strength nor splendour of birth nor greater fortune in war than Alexander's own, nor if anyone might sail round Libya and Asia and subdue them both, as Alexander intended, nor if one might add Europe as a third, over and above Libya and Asia—that not one of these

τρίτην, τούτων οὐδέν τι ὄφελος ἐς εὐδαιμονίαν ἀνθρώπου, εἰ μὴ σωφρονεῖν ἐν ταὐτῷ ὑπάρχοι τούτῳ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ τὰ μεγάλα, ὡς δοκεῖ, πράγματα πράξαντι.

VIII. Ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τὸ Κλείτου τοῦ Δρωπίδου πάθημα καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπ' αὐτῷ ξυμφοράν, εἰ καὶ ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐπράχθη, οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ καιροῦ ἀφηγήσομαι. Εἶναι μὲν γὰρ ἡμέραν ἱερὰν τοῦ Διονύσου Μακεδόσι καὶ θύειν Διονύσῳ ὅσα
2 ἔτη ἐν αὐτῇ Ἀλέξανδρον· τὸν δὲ τοῦ Διονύσου μὲν ἐν τῷ τότε ἀμελῆσαι λέγουσι, Διοσκούροιν δὲ θῦσαι, ἐξ ὅτου δὴ ἐπιφρασθέντα τοῖν Διοσκούροιν τὴν θυσίαν· πόρρω δὲ τοῦ πότου προϊόντος (καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὰ τῶν πότων ἤδη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐς τὸ βαρβαρικώτερον νενεωτέριστο), ἀλλ' ἔν γε τῷ πότῳ τότε ὑπὲρ τοῖν Διοσκούροιν λόγους γίγνεσθαι, ὅπως ἐς Δία ἀνηνέχθη αὐτοῖν
3 ἡ γένεσις ἀφαιρεθεῖσα Τυνδάρεω. Καί τινας τῶν παρόντων κολακείᾳ τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου, οἷοι δὴ ἄνδρες διέφθειράν τε ἀεὶ καὶ οὔποτε παύσονται ἐπιτρίβοντες τὰ τῶν βασιλέων πράγματα, κατ' οὐδὲν ἀξιοῦν συμβάλλειν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τε καὶ τοῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργοις τὸν Πολυδεύκην καὶ τὸν Κάστορα. Οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἀπείχοντο ἐν τῷ πότῳ· ἀλλὰ τὸν φθόνον γὰρ ἐμποδὼν ἵστασθαι τοῖς ζῶσι τὸ μὴ οὐ τὰς δικαίας τιμὰς αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν ξυνόντων γίγνεσθαι.

4 Κλεῖτον δὲ δῆλον μὲν εἶναι πάλαι ἤδη ἀχθόμενον τοῦ τε Ἀλεξάνδρου τῇ ἐς τὸ βαρβαρικώτερον μετακινήσει καὶ τῶν κολακευόντων αὐτὸν τοῖς λόγοις· τότε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν πρὸς τοῦ οἴνου παροξυνόμενον οὐκ ἐᾶν οὔτε ἐς τὸ θεῖον ὑβρίζειν,

things is of any use to make a man's happiness, unless the man that has done, in the eyes of the world, these mighty deeds, has learnt the mastery of himself.

VIII. At this point it will not be unseasonable to relate the death of Cleitus son of Dropides and what happened to Alexander after it; even though it actually occurred later. The Macedonians kept a festival of Dionysus and Alexander sacrificed to him yearly on the festival; it is said that only on this particular occasion Alexander neglected Dionysus but sacrificed to the Dioscuri, having for some reason decided thus to sacrifice to the Dioscuri. However, the drinking was prolonged (and, in fact, Alexander had already taken to barbaric ways in drinking), and in the course of the drinking bout talk occurred about the Dioscuri, and how their fatherhood was no longer attributed to Tyndareus but referred to Zeus. Some of the company, that type of men who always have spoiled and always will continue to harm the interests of the reigning monarch, out of flattery to Alexander, gave out as their opinion that there was no comparison between Castor and Pollux and Alexander and Alexander's achievements. Others, being as they were in drink, did not even stop short of Heracles; it was only envy, they said, which stood in the way of those yet living and kept them from receiving their due honours from their contemporaries.

Cleitus, however, had clearly, for some time past, been distressed both with Alexander's change towards the more barbaric style and the expressions of his flatterers; and now under the stimulus of wine he could not permit them to offer these insults to divine

οὔτε τὰ τῶν πάλαι ἡρώων ἔργα ἐκφαυλίζοντας χάριν ταύτην ἄχαριν προστιθέναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ.
5 Εἶναι γὰρ οὖν οὐδὲ τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου οὕτω τι μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ ὡς ἐκεῖνοι ἐπαίρουσιν· οὔκουν μόνον γε καταπρᾶξαι αὐτά, ἀλλὰ τὸ πολὺ γὰρ μέρος Μακεδόνων εἶναι τὰ ἔργα. Καὶ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ἀνιᾶσαι Ἀλέξανδρον λεχθέντα. Οὐδὲ ἐγὼ ἐπαινῶ τὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ ἱκανὸν γὰρ εἶναι τίθεμαι ἐν τοιᾷδε παροινίᾳ τὸ καθ' αὑτὸν σιγῶντα ἔχειν μηδὲ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐς
6 κολακείαν πλημμελεῖν. Ὡς δὲ καὶ τῶν Φιλίππου τινὲς ἔργων, ὅτι οὐ μεγάλα οὐδὲ θαυμαστὰ Φιλίππῳ κατεπράχθη, οὐδεμιᾷ ξὺν δίκῃ ἐπεμνήσθησαν, χαριζόμενοι καὶ οὗτοι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, τὸν Κλεῖτον ἤδη οὐκέτι ἐν ἑαυτοῦ ὄντα πρεσβεύειν μὲν τὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου, καταβάλλειν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρόν τε καὶ τὰ τούτου ἔργα, παροινοῦντα ἤδη τὸν Κλεῖτον, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ πολὺν εἶναι ἐξονειδίζοντα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὅτι πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄρα ἐσώθη, ὁπότε ἡ ἱππομαχία ἡ ἐπὶ Γρανικῷ
7 ξυνειστήκει πρὸς Πέρσας· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν τὴν αὑτοῦ σοβαρῶς ἀνατείναντα, Αὕτη σε ἡ χείρ, φάναι, ὦ Ἀλέξανδρε, ἐν τῷ τότε ἔσωσε. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον οὐκέτι φέρειν τοῦ Κλείτου τὴν παροινίαν τε καὶ ὕβριν, ἀλλὰ ἀναπηδᾶν γὰρ ξὺν ὀργῇ ἐπ' αὐτόν, κατέχεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ξυμπινόντων. Κλεῖτον δὲ οὐκ ἀνιέναι ὑβρίζοντα.
8 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐβόα ἀνακαλῶν τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς· οὐδενὸς δὲ ὑπακούοντος, ἐς ταὐτὰ ἔφη καθεστηκέναι Δαρείῳ, ὁπότε πρὸς Βήσσου τε καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ Βῆσσον ξυλληφθεὶς ἤγετο οὐδέ τι ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ ὄνομα ἦν βασιλέως. Οὔκουν ἔτι οἵους τε

beings, or, by belittling the deeds of the heroes of old, to do to Alexander this kindness that was far from kind. He felt that Alexander's achievements were not so great and wonderful as they exaggerated them to be; nay, Alexander had not achieved them by himself, but they were for the great part Macedonian achievements. When he uttered these thoughts, Alexander was deeply hurt. I do not commend Cleitus' words, either; I rather think it enough, amid such drunkenness, for a man to keep his own views to himself, and so avoid the errors of flattery of the rest. However, when some even referred to Philip's achievements, quite unjustly suggesting that Philip had done no great or wonderful deeds, these also trying to gratify Alexander, Cleitus could no longer control himself and spoke up on behalf of Philip's achievements, making little of Alexander and his; and being now heated with wine, among other things he even became voluble in reproaches to Alexander, that after all Alexander owed his life to him, when the cavalry battle on the Granicus was fought with the Persians; and, what is more, holding out with a superb air his right hand, cried, "This very hand, Alexander, saved you then!" On this Alexander could no longer brook the drunken arrogance of Cleitus, and leapt up in anger to strike him, but was held back by his boon companions. Still Cleitus did not restrain his insults. Thereupon Alexander shouted out, calling on his bodyguard; but as no one obeyed, he cried that he had come to the same pass as Dareius, when he was led prisoner by Bessus and his confederates, and that he had nothing now left of king but the name. No longer could his friends

εἶναι κατέχειν αὐτὸν τοὺς ἑταίρους, ἀλλ' ἀναπηδήσαντα γὰρ οἱ μὲν λόγχην ἁρπάσαι λέγουσι τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τινὸς καὶ ταύτῃ παίσαντα Κλεῖτον ἀποκτεῖναι· οἱ δὲ σάρισσαν παρὰ τῶν
9 φυλάκων τινὸς καὶ ταύτῃ.[1] Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ ὅθεν μὲν ἡ παροινία ὡρμήθη οὐ λέγει· Κλείτου δὲ γενέσθαι μόνου τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, ὅν γε, ὠργισμένου Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ἀναπηδήσαντος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὡς διαχρησομένου, ἀπαχθῆναι μὲν διὰ θυρῶν ἔξω ὑπὲρ τὸ τεῖχός τε καὶ τὴν τάφρον τῆς ἄκρας, ἵνα ἐγίνετο πρὸς Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου τοῦ σωματοφύλακος· οὐ καρτερήσαντα δὲ ἀναστρέψαι αὖθις καὶ περιπετῆ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γενέσθαι Κλεῖτον ἀνακαλοῦντι, καὶ φάναι ὅτι Οὗτός τοι ἐγὼ ὁ Κλεῖτος, ὦ Ἀλέξανδρε· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ πληγέντα τῇ σαρίσσῃ ἀποθανεῖν.

IX. Καὶ ἐγὼ Κλεῖτον μὲν τῆς ὕβρεως τῆς ἐς τὸν βασιλέα τὸν αὑτοῦ μεγαλωστὶ μέμφομαι, Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ τῆς συμφορᾶς οἰκτείρω, ὅτι δυοῖν κακοῖν ἐν τῷ τότε ἡττημένον ἐπέδειξεν αὑτόν, ὑφ' ὅτων δὴ καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου οὐκ ἐπέοικεν ἄνδρα σωφρονοῦντα ἐξηττᾶσθαι, ὀργῆς τε καὶ παροινίας.
2 Ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε αὖ ἐπαινῶ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὅτι παραυτίκα ἔγνω σχέτλιον ἔργον ἐργασάμενος. Καὶ λέγουσιν εἰσὶν οἳ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὅτι ἐρείσας τὴν σάρισσαν πρὸς τὸν τοῖχον ἐπιπίπτειν ἐγνώκει αὐτῇ, ὡς οὐ καλὸν αὐτῷ ζῆν
3 ἀποκτείναντι φίλον αὑτοῦ ἐν οἴνῳ. Οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ ξυγγραφεῖς τοῦτο μὲν οὐ λέγουσιν· ἀπελθόντα

[1] ταύτῃ (from Sintenis) seems necessary: but there is no need to repeat παίσ. Κλ. ἀποκτ. Arrian can use brachylogy when he chooses.

hold him back; but he leapt up and, as some say, snatched a spear from one of the guard and therewith smote and slew Cleitus; but, according to others, a long pike from one of the guard, and with this slew him. But Aristobulus, while not telling us the origin of this drinking bout, holds that the entire fault lay in Cleitus, since he, as Alexander broke into passion and leapt up to slay him, was hurried away through the doors over the wall and ditch of the citadel, where all this happened, by Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, one of the bodyguards; and yet could not control himself, and hurried back; and arriving just as Alexander was calling out "Cleitus!" himself cried, "Behold, here is Cleitus, Alexander!" and there and then was smitten with the pike and so died.

IX. I myself strongly blame Cleitus for his insulting behaviour towards his king; Alexander I pity for this mishap, since he showed himself therein the slave of two vices, by neither of which any self-respecting man should be overcome, namely, passion and drunkenness. But for the sequel I commend Alexander, in that he immediately perceived that he had done a foul deed. Some say that Alexander leaned the pike against the wall, intending to fall upon it himself, as no longer worthy to live when he had slain a friend through drunkenness. But most historians do not relate this. They tell us that Alexander took to

δὲ ἐς τὴν εὐνὴν κεῖσθαι ὀδυρόμενον, αὐτόν τε τὸν
Κλεῖτον ὀνομαστὶ ἀνακαλοῦντα καὶ τὴν Κλείτου
μὲν ἀδελφήν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀναθρεψαμένην, Λανίκην
τὴν Δρωπίδου παῖδα, ὡς καλὰ ἄρα αὐτῇ τροφεῖα
4 ἀποτετικὼς εἴη ἀνδρωθείς, ᾗ γε τοὺς μὲν παῖδας
τοὺς ἑαυτῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μαχομένους ἐπεῖδεν
ἀποθανόντας, τὸν ἀδελφὸν δὲ αὐτῆς αὐτὸς αὐτο-
χειρίᾳ ἔκτεινε· φονέα τε τῶν φίλων οὐ διαλείπειν
αὑτὸν ἀνακαλοῦντα, ἄσιτόν τε καὶ ἄποτον καρ-
τερεῖν ἔστε ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, οὐδὲ τὴν ἄλλην
θεραπείαν θεραπεῦσαι τὸ σῶμα.
5 Καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τῶν μάντεών τινες μῆνιν ἐκ
Διονύσου ᾖδον, ὅτι ἡ θυσία ἐξελείφθη Ἀλεξάν-
δρῳ ἡ τοῦ Διονύσου. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος μόγις
πρὸς τῶν ἑταίρων πεισθεὶς σίτου τε ἥψατο καὶ
τὸ σῶμα κακῶς[1] ἐθεράπευσε· καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ τὴν
θυσίαν ἀπέδωκεν, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ αὐτῷ ἄκοντι ἦν ἐς
μῆνιν τοῦ θείου μᾶλλόν τι ἢ τὴν αὑτοῦ κακότητα
6 ἀναφέρεσθαι τὴν ξυμφοράν. Ταῦτα μεγαλωστὶ
ἐπαινῶ Ἀλεξάνδρου, τὸ μήτε ἀπαυθαδιάσασθαι
ἐπὶ κακῷ, μήτε προστάτην τε καὶ ξυνήγορον
κακίονα ἔτι γενέσθαι τοῦ ἁμαρτηθέντος, ἀλλὰ
συμφῆσαι γὰρ ἐπταικέναι ἄνθρωπόν γε ὄντα.
7 Εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ λέγουσιν Ἀνάξαρχον τὸν σοφιστὴν
ἐλθεῖν μὲν παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον κληθέντα, ὡς παρα-
μυθησόμενον· εὑρόντα δὲ κείμενον καὶ ἐπιστέ-
νοντα,[2] ἐπιγελάσαντα, ἀγνοεῖν, φάναι, διότι ἐπὶ
τῷδε οἱ πάλαι σοφοὶ ἄνδρες τὴν Δίκην πάρεδρον
τῷ Διὶ ἐποίησαν, ὡς ὅ τι ἂν πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς

[1] κακῶς, "grudgingly," may be right. Röhl gives ἄλλως. Perhaps ἀτάκτως.

[2] Perhaps ἔτι στένοντα.

his bed and lay there lamenting, crying out the name of Cleitus and of Cleitus' sister, Lanice daughter of Dropides, who had nursed him: "What a fine gift for her nursing had he given her, now come to man's estate! she had seen her sons die fighting for him, and now with his own hand he had murdered her brother." He kept again and again calling himself the slayer of his friends, and lay three days without food or drink, and careless of all other bodily needs.

Hereupon some of the prophets kept uttering hints of wrath from Dionysus, because Alexander had neglected the sacrifice to Dionysus. With some difficulty Alexander was brought by his friends to take food, and took some slight care of his person; then he paid the due sacrifice to Dionysus, since indeed he was not unwilling that the disaster should be referred to divine wrath rather than to his own evil nature. In this I have high commendation for Alexander, that he did not brazen out his evil act, nor degrade himself by becoming champion and advocate of his misdeed; but confessed that, being merely human, he had erred.

Some authorities say that Anaxarchus the Sophist came by summons to Alexander, and finding him lying moaning, laughed at him and said that Alexander had not learnt that the old philosophers made Justice to sit by the throne of Zeus just for this reason,

κυρωθῇ, τοῦτο ξὺν δίκῃ πεπραγμένον· καὶ οὖν καὶ τὰ ἐκ βασιλέως μεγάλου γιγνόμενα δίκαια χρῆναι νομίζεσθαι, πρῶτα μὲν πρὸς αὐτοῦ βασιλέως, ἔπειτα πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων.
8 Ταῦτα εἰπόντα παραμυθήσασθαι μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τῷ τότε· κακὸν δὲ μέγα, ὡς ἐγώ φημι, ἐξεργάσασθαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ μεῖζον ἔτι ἢ ὅτῳ τότε ξυνείχετο· εἴπερ οὖν σοφοῦ ἀνδρὸς τήνδε ἔγνω τὴν δόξαν, ὡς οὐ τὰ δίκαια ἄρα χρὴ σπουδῇ ἐπιλεγόμενον πράττειν τὸν βασιλέα, ἀλλὰ ὅ τι ἂν καὶ ὅπως οὖν ἐκ βασιλέως πραχθῇ, τοῦτο
9 δίκαιον νομίζειν. Ἐπεὶ καὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι ἐθέλειν Ἀλέξανδρον λόγος κατέχει, ὑπούσης μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς ἀμφὶ τοῦ Ἄμμωνος πατρὸς μᾶλλόν τι ἢ Φιλίππου δόξης, θαυμάζοντα δὲ ἤδη τὰ Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων τῆς τε ἐσθῆτος τῇ ἀμείψει καὶ τῆς ἄλλης θεραπείας τῇ μετακοσμήσει. Οὐκ ἐνδεῆσαι δὲ οὐδὲ πρὸς τοῦτο αὐτῷ τοὺς κολακείᾳ ἐς αὐτὸ ἐνδιδόντας, ἄλλους τέ τινας καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν Ἀνάξαρχόν τε καὶ Ἄγιν Ἀργεῖον, ἐποποιόν.

X. Καλλισθένην δὲ τὸν Ὀλύνθιον Ἀριστοτέλους τε τῶν λόγων διακηκοότα καὶ τὸν τρόπον ὄντα ὑπαγροικότερον οὐκ ἐπαινεῖν ταῦτα. Τούτου μὲν δὴ ἕνεκα καὶ αὐτὸς Καλλισθένει ξυμφέρομαι· ἐκεῖνα δὲ οὐκέτι ἐπιεικῆ δοκῶ τοῦ Καλλισθένους, εἴπερ ἀληθῆ ξυγγέγραπται, ὅτι ὑφ' αὐτῷ [τε] εἶναι ἀπέφαινε καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ ξυγγραφῇ Ἀλέξανδρόν τε
2 καὶ τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργα. Οὔκουν αὐτὸς ἀφῖχθαι ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου δόξαν κτησόμενος, ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνον εὐκλεᾶ ἐς ἀνθρώπους ποιήσων. Καὶ οὖν καὶ τοῦ θείου τὴν μετουσίαν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ οὐκ ἐξ ὧν

that whatsoever is done by Zeus is done with Justice; even so what is done by a great King should be held just, both by the King himself and by all the world. With these words he consoled Alexander for the time; but I say that he did Alexander a wrong more grievous than the trouble which beset him; if indeed he gave this opinion as that of a philosopher, that the King need not really give all diligence to choose out and do just deeds, but that we must hold whatsoever the King does, in whatsoever way it may be done, to be just. For the tale goes that Alexander even desired people to bow to the earth before him, from the idea that Ammon was his father rather than Philip, and since he now emulated the ways of the Persians and Medes, both by the change of his garb and the altered arrangements of his general way of life. It is said that he had no lack of zealous flatterers who yielded to him in this, and not least among them Anaxarchus, one of the Sophists at his court, and Agis of Argos, an epic poet.

X. Callisthenes of Olynthus, however, a pupil of Aristotle, and with something of the boor in his character, did not approve all this, and herein I agree with Callisthenes. But I think quite out of place the remark of Callisthenes (if correctly reported), that Alexander and his achievements were all dependent on himself and his history. He himself (he said) hoped for no glory in coming to Alexander, but rather to make Alexander famous in the sight of men; and again, that Alexander's share in divinity

Ὀλυμπιὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ ψεύδεται
ἀνηρτῆσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ ἐξ ὧν ἂν αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάν-
3 δρου ξυγγράψας ἐξενέγκῃ ἐς ἀνθρώπους. Εἰσὶ
δὲ οἳ καὶ τάδε ἀνέγραψαν, ὡς ἄρα ἤρετό ποτε
αὐτὸν Φιλώτας, ὅντινα οἴοιτο μάλιστα τιμηθῆναι
πρὸς τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως· τὸν δὲ ἀποκρί-
νασθαι Ἁρμόδιον καὶ Ἀριστογείτονα, ὅτι τὸν
ἕτερον τοῖν τυράννοιν ἔκτειναν καὶ τυραννίδα ὅτι
4 κατέλυσαν. Ἐρέσθαι αὖθις τὸν Φιλώταν εἰ τῷ
τύραννον κτείναντι ὑπάρχει παρ᾽ οὕστινας ἐθέλει
τῶν Ἑλλήνων φυγόντα σώζεσθαι· καὶ ἀποκρί-
νασθαι αὖθις Καλλισθένην, εἰ καὶ μὴ παρ᾽
ἄλλους, παρά γε Ἀθηναίους ὅτι φυγόντι ὑπάρχει
σώζεσθαι· τούτους γὰρ καὶ πρὸς Εὐρυσθέα
πολεμῆσαι ὑπὲρ τῶν παίδων τῶν Ἡρακλέους,
τυραννοῦντα ἐν τῷ τότε τῆς Ἑλλάδος.
5 Ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς προσκυνήσεως ὅπως ἠναντιώθη
Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, καὶ τοιόσδε κατέχει λόγος. Ξυγ-
κεῖσθαι μὲν γὰρ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πρὸς τοὺς
σοφιστάς τε καὶ τοὺς ἀμφ᾽ αὐτὸν Περσῶν καὶ
Μήδων τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους μνήμην τοῦ λόγου
6 τοῦδε ἐν πότῳ ἐμβαλεῖν· ἄρξαι δὲ τοῦ λόγου
Ἀνάξαρχον, ὡς πολὺ δικαιότερον ἂν θεὸν νομιζό-
μενον Ἀλέξανδρον Διονύσου τε καὶ Ἡρακλέους,
μὴ ὅτι τῶν ἔργων ἕνεκα ὅσα καὶ ἡλίκα κατα-
πέπρακται Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι Διόνυσος
μὲν Θηβαῖος ἦν, οὐδέν τι προσήκων Μακε-
δόσι, καὶ Ἡρακλῆς Ἀργεῖος, οὐδὲ οὗτος προ-
σήκων, ὅτι μὴ κατὰ γένος τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου·
7 Ἡρακλείδην γὰρ εἶναι Ἀλέξανδρον· Μακεδόνας
δὲ αὖ τὸν σφῶν βασιλέα δικαιότερον θείαις τιμαῖς
κοσμοῦντας. Καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνο εἶναι ἀμφί-

did not depend on Olympias' fanciful story of his birth, but upon his own account of Alexander which should be given to the world in his history. Some relate too that Philotas once asked him whom he thought to be held in highest honour by the Athenians; and he replied, Harmodius and Aristogeiton, because they slew one of the two tyrants, and destroyed the tyranny. Then Philotas asked him again if a tyrannicide could find a safe refuge among any of the Greeks he wished? and Callisthenes again answered that if not elsewhere, at least if he fled to Athens such a one would be safe, since the Athenians, on behalf of the children of Heracles, had even fought against Eurysthenes, who was tyrant then over Greece.

And as to Callisthenes' opposition to Alexander in the matter of bowing to the ground before him, there is a story as follows. It had been agreed between Alexander and the Sophists and the most illustrious of the Persians and Medes at his court that there should be mention made of this topic at a wine-party; Anaxarchus began the subject, saying that it would be far more just to reckon Alexander a god than Dionysus and Heracles, not so much because of the many great achievements of Alexander, but also because Dionysus was a Theban, and had no connection with Macedon, and Heracles an Argive, also unconnected with Macedon, save by Alexander's descent, for he was a son of Heracles; but that Macedonians were more justified in honouring their own King with divine honours. For in any case there

λογον ὅτι ἀπελθόντα γε ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ὡς θεὸν τιμήσουσι· πόσῳ δὴ δικαιότερον ζῶντα γεραίρειν ἤπερ τελευτήσαντα ἐς οὐδὲν ὄφελος τῷ τιμωμένῳ.

XI. Λεχθέντων δὲ τούτων τε καὶ τοιούτων λόγων πρὸς Ἀναξάρχου, τοὺς μὲν μετεσχηκότας τῆς βουλῆς ἐπαινεῖν τὸν λόγον καὶ δὴ ἐθέλειν ἄρχεσθαι τῆς προσκυνήσεως· τοὺς Μακεδόνας δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς μαχομένους τῷ λόγῳ σιγῇ ἔχειν.
2 Καλλισθένην δὲ ὑπολαβόντα, Ἀλέξανδρον μέν, εἰπεῖν, ὦ Ἀνάξαρχε, οὐδεμιᾶς ἀνάξιον ἀποφαίνω τιμῆς ὅσαι ξύμμετροι ἀνθρώπῳ· ἀλλὰ διακεκρίσθαι γὰρ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὅσαι τε ἀνθρώπιναι τιμαὶ καὶ ὅσαι θεῖαι πολλοῖς μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις, καθάπερ ναῶν τε οἰκοδομήσει καὶ ἀγαλμάτων ἀναστάσει καὶ τεμένη ὅτι τοῖς θεοῖς ἐξαιρεῖται καὶ θύεται ἐκείνοις καὶ σπένδεται, καὶ ὕμνοι μὲν ἐς τοὺς θεοὺς ποιοῦνται, ἔπαινοι δὲ ἐς ἀνθρώπους, ἀτὰρ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῷ τῆς προσκυνήσεως νόμῳ·
3 τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπους φιλεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν ἀσπαζομένων, τὸ θεῖον δέ, ὅτι ἄνω πού ἱδρυμένον καὶ οὐδὲ ψαῦσαι αὐτοῦ θέμις, ἐπὶ τῷδε ἄρα τῇ προσκυνήσει γεραίρεται, καὶ χοροὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἵστανται καὶ παιᾶνες ἐπὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ᾄδονται. Καὶ οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν, ὁπότε γε καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν ἄλλοις ἄλλαι τιμαὶ πρόσκεινται, καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία ἥρωσιν ἄλλαι, καὶ αὖται ἀποκεκριμέναι
4 τοῦ θείου. Οὔκουν εἰκὸς ξύμπαντα ταῦτα ἀναταράσσοντας τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους ἐς σχῆμα ὑπέρογκον καθιστάναι τῶν τιμῶν ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς, τοὺς θεοὺς δὲ τό γε ἐπὶ σφίσιν ἐς ταπεινότητα οὐ πρέπουσαν καταβάλλειν τὰ ἴσα ἀνθρώ-

was no doubt that when Alexander had passed away from men they would honour him as a god; how much more just, then, that they should honour him in life rather than when dead, when the honour would profit him nothing.

XI. When then Anaxarchus had spoken thus, and to this purport, those who were in the plot approved his statement and indeed desired to begin the ceremony of prostration. The Macedonians, however, for the most part disagreed with these remarks, and kept silent. But Callisthenes broke in and said: "Anaxarchus, I hold Alexander unworthy of no honour fit for mankind; but, in point of fact, lines have been drawn for men between honours fit for mortals and honours fit for gods in many diverse ways, as by the building of temples and setting up of images, and since enclosures have been set apart for the gods, and since we sacrifice to them, and offer libations, and hymns are composed to gods, while eulogies are composed for men; but chiefly in this very custom of bowing down before them. Those who greet their fellow-men kiss them, but as for the gods, since they are set far above us and we may not even touch them, hence they are honoured by our bowing down before them; dances, too, are held in honour of the gods, and pæans sung before them, and this is nothing out of the way; since among the gods themselves some have these honours attached, and some those; and what is more, they are again different for the heroes, and these distinct from those paid to gods. It is not, therefore, proper to confuse all this, and to raise mortals to an extravagant grade by excesses of honour, and to reduce the gods, as far as can be done, to an unseemly humiliation, by honour-

ποις τιμῶντας. Οὔκουν οὐδὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀνασχέσθαι ἄν, εἰ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τις εἰσποιοῖτο ταῖς βασιλικαῖς τιμαῖς χειροτονίᾳ ἢ ψήφῳ οὐ
5 δικαίᾳ. Πολὺ ἂν οὖν δικαιότερον τοὺς θεοὺς δυσχεραίνειν ὅσοι ἄνθρωποι ἐς τὰς θείας τιμὰς σφᾶς εἰσποιοῦσιν ἢ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων εἰσποιούμενοι ἀνέχονται. Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ πόρρω τοῦ ἱκανοῦ ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν τὸν ἄριστον εἶναί τε καὶ δοκεῖν, καὶ βασιλέων τὸν βασιλικώτατον καὶ στρατηγῶν τὸν
6 ἀξιοστρατηγότατον. Καὶ σέ, εἴπερ τινὰ ἄλλον, ὦ Ἀνάξαρχε, εἰσηγητήν τε τούτων τῶν λόγων ἐχρῆν γίγνεσθαι καὶ κωλυτὴν τῶν ἐναντίων, ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ τε καὶ παιδεύσει Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ξυνόντα. Οὔκουν ἄρχειν γε τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου πρέπον ἦν, ἀλλὰ μεμνῆσθαι γὰρ οὐ Καμβύσῃ οὐδὲ Ξέρξῃ ξυνόντα ἢ ξυμβουλεύοντα, ἀλλὰ Φιλίππου μὲν παιδί, Ἡρακλείδῃ δὲ ἀπὸ γένους καὶ Αἰακίδῃ, ὅτου οἱ πρόγονοι ἐξ Ἄργους ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἦλθον, οὐδὲ βίᾳ, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ Μακεδόνων ἄρχοντες
7 διετέλεσαν. Οὔκουν οὐδὲ αὐτῷ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ζῶντι ἔτι θεῖαι τιμαὶ παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἐγένοντο, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τελευτήσαντι πρόσθεν ἢ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐπιθεσπισθῆναι ὡς θεὸν τιμᾶν Ἡρακλέα. Εἰ δέ, ὅτι ἐν τῇ βαρβάρῳ γῇ οἱ λόγοι γίγνονται, βαρβαρικὰ χρὴ ἔχειν τὰ φρονήματα, καὶ ἐγὼ τῆς Ἑλλάδος μεμνῆσθαί σε ἀξιῶ, ὦ Ἀλέξανδρε, ἧς ἕνεκα ὁ πᾶς στόλος σοι ἐγένετο, προσθεῖναι τὴν Ἀσίαν τῇ Ἑλλάδι.
8 Καὶ οὖν ἐνθυμήθητι, ἐκεῖσε ἐπανελθὼν ἆρά γε καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας τοὺς ἐλευθερωτάτους προσαναγκάσεις ἐς τὴν προσκύνησιν, ἢ Ἑλλήνων μὲν ἀφέξῃ, Μακεδόσι δὲ προσθήσεις τήνδε τὴν

ing them on the same level as men. Alexander himself would not brook it for a moment, if some private person laid claim to the royal honours by right of some unconstitutional election or vote. Much more rightly then would the gods be angry with any mortals investing themselves with divine honours or permitting others so to invest them. Now Alexander both is and is thought to be above all measure the bravest of the brave, most kingly of Kings, most worthy to command of all commanders. As for you, Anaxarchus, you above all should have taken the lead in this discourse and put a stop to the opposite argument, being as you are attached to Alexander as philosopher and instructor. It was most improper that you should take the lead in this line of argument; you should rather have remembered that you are not attending nor advising some Cambyses or Xerxes, but a son of Philip, by race a descendant of Heracles and of Aeacus, whose forefathers came from Argos to Macedonia, and long held sway there, not as tyrants but as constitutional monarchs of Macedonia. But not even to Heracles himself were divine honours paid by the Greeks while he yet lived; nay, even after his death they were not paid before an oracle was given by the god of Delphi that Heracles was to be honoured as a god. If, however, we must think in foreign fashion, since our discussion takes place in a foreign country, yet even so I beg you, Alexander, to remember Greece, for whose sake all your expedition took place, to add Asia to Greece. Moreover, consider this also, on your return to Greece will it be Greeks, the most free of all mankind, whom you will compel to bow down before you, or will you perhaps exempt the Greeks, and shackle the Mace-

ἀτιμίαν, ἢ διακεκριμένα ἔσται σοι οὕτω τὰ τῶν τιμῶν εἰς ἅπαντας, ὡς πρὸς Ἑλλήνων μὲν καὶ Μακεδόνων ἀνθρωπίνως τε καὶ Ἑλληνικῶς
9 βαρτιμᾶσθαι, πρὸς δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων μόνων βαρβαρικῶς; εἰ δὲ ὑπὲρ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσου λέγεται τὸν πρῶτον προσκυνηθῆναι ἀνθρώπων Κῦρον καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἐμμεῖναι Πέρσαις τε καὶ Μήδοις τήνδε τὴν ταπεινότητα, χρὴ ἐνθυμεῖσθαι, ὅτι τὸν Κῦρον ἐκεῖνον Σκύθαι ἐσωφρόνισαν, πένητες ἄνδρες καὶ αὐτόνομοι, καὶ Δαρεῖον ἄλλοι αὖ Σκύθαι, καὶ Ξέρξην Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ Ἀρταξέρξην Κλέαρχος καὶ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ ξὺν τούτοις μύριοι, καὶ Δαρεῖον τοῦτον Ἀλέξανδρος μὴ προσκυνούμενος.

XII. Ταῦτα δὴ καὶ τοιαῦτα εἰπόντα Καλλισθένην ἀνιᾶσαι μὲν μεγαλωστὶ Ἀλέξανδρον, Μακεδόσι δὲ πρὸς θυμοῦ εἰπεῖν. Καὶ τοῦτο γνόντα Ἀλέξανδρον πέμψαντα κωλῦσαι Μακε-
2 δόνας μεμνῆσθαι ἔτι τῆς προσκυνήσεως. Ἀλλὰ σιγῆς γὰρ γενομένης ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἀναστάντας Περσῶν τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους ἐφεξῆς προσκυνεῖν. Λεόννατον δέ, ἕνα τῶν ἑταίρων, ἐπειδή τις ἐδόκει τῶν Περσῶν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐν κόσμῳ προσκυνῆσαι, τὸν δὲ ἐπιγελάσαι τῷ σχήματι τοῦ Περσοῦ, ὡς ταπεινόν·[1] καὶ τούτῳ χαλεπήναντα τότε Ἀλέξανδρον ξυναλλαγῆναι αὖθις. Ἀναγέγραπται
3 δὲ δὴ καὶ τοιόσδε λόγος. Προπίνειν φιάλην χρυσῆν ἐν κύκλῳ Ἀλέξανδρον πρώτοις μὲν τούτοις πρὸς οὕστινας ξυνέκειτο αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς προσκυνήσεως· τὸν δὲ πρῶτον ἐκπιόντα τὴν

[1] Ellendt ταπεινῷ, but ταπεινόν will construe. Perhaps ταπεινὸν ὄν.

donians with this shame? or will you draw a line thus in the matter of honours for all the world, that by Greeks and Macedonians you shall be honoured as a man, but by foreigners only in this foreign fashion? But if it is said of Cyrus son of Cambyses that Cyrus was the first of men to receive this homage of bowing to the ground, and that therefore this humiliation became traditional with Persians and Medes, yet you must remember that this very Cyrus was brought to a better mind by Scythians, a poor but free people; Dareius too by other Scythians, Xerxes by Athenians and Lacedaemonians, and Artaxerxes by Clearchus and Xenophon and their Ten Thousand, and Dareius now by Alexander, as yet unworshipped by prostrations."

XII. This, and to this effect, spake Callisthenes; and while he irritated Alexander exceedingly, he found favour with the Macedonians, and, perceiving this, Alexander sent and bade the Macedonians to take no thought for such prostrations in future. When, however, a silence fell after these words, the senior of the Persians arose and one by one bowed low before Alexander. But Leonnatus one of the Companions, thinking that one of the Persians made his bow ungracefully, mocked the Persian's attitude, as something abject, at which Alexander was very angry, though he was reconciled with him again. A story also occurs as follows:—Alexander sent round a loving cup, a golden one, first to those with whom he had made the arrangement about the prostrations; then the first guest drinking of it rose up, prostrated him-

φιάλην προσκυνῆσαί τε ἀναστάντα καὶ φιληθῆναι πρὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῦτο ἐφεξῆς διὰ πάντων
4 χωρῆσαι. Ὡς δὲ ἐς Καλλισθένην ἧκεν ἡ πρόποσις, ἀναστῆναι μὲν Καλλισθένην καὶ ἐκπιεῖν τὴν φιάλην, καὶ προσελθόντα ἐθέλειν φιλῆσαι οὐ προσκυνήσαντα. Τὸν δὲ τυχεῖν μὲν τότε διαλεγόμενον Ἡφαιστίωνι· οὔκουν προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, εἰ καὶ τὰ τῆς προσκυνήσεως ἐπιτελῆ αὐτῷ
5 Καλλισθένει ἐγένετο. Ἀλλὰ Δημήτριον γὰρ τὸν Πυθώνακτος, ἕνα τῶν ἑταίρων, ὡς προσῄει αὐτῷ ὁ Καλλισθένης φιλήσων, φάναι ὅτι οὐ προσκυνήσας πρόσεισι. Καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οὐ παρασχεῖν φιλῆσαι ἑαυτόν· τὸν δὲ Καλλισθένην, φιλήματι, φάναι, ἔλαττον ἔχων ἄπειμι.

6 Καὶ τούτων ἐγὼ ὅσα ἐς ὕβριν τε τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα καὶ ἐς σκαιότητα τὴν Καλλισθένους φέροντα, οὐδὲν οὐδαμῇ ἐπαινῶ· ἀλλὰ τὸ καθ' αὑτὸν γὰρ κοσμίως τίθεσθαι ἐξαρκεῖν φημί, αὔξοντα ὡς ἀνυστὸν τὰ βασιλέως πράγματα ὅτῳ τις ξυνεῖναι οὐκ ἀπηξίωσεν.
7 Οὔκουν ἀπεικότως δι' ἀπεχθείας γενέσθαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Καλλισθένην τίθεμαι ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκαίρῳ τε παρρησίᾳ καὶ ὑπερόγκῳ ἀβελτηρίᾳ. Ἐφ' ὅτῳ τεκμαίρομαι μὴ χαλεπῶς πιστευθῆναι τοὺς κατειπόντας Καλλισθένους ὅτι μετέσχε τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τῆς γενομένης Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐκ τῶν παίδων, τοὺς δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐπῆρεν αὐτὸς ἐς τὸ ἐπιβουλεῦσαι. Ξυνέβη δὲ τὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ὧδε.

XIII. Ἐκ Φιλίππου ἦν ἤδη καθεστηκός, τῶν ἐν τέλει Μακεδόνων τοὺς παῖδας ὅσοι ἐς ἡλικίαν ἐμειρακίσαντο, καταλέγεσθαι ἐς θεραπείαν τοῦ

self, and received a kiss from Alexander, and so they did one by one in order. But when the turn to drink came to Callisthenes, he rose up, drank from the cup, approached, and made to kiss Alexander without having prostrated himself. Alexander at the moment was talking to Hephaestion, and therefore was not attending to see whether the ceremony of prostration was duly carried out by Callisthenes. But Demetrius son of Pythonax, one of the Companions, as Callisthenes approached to kiss Alexander, remarked that he was coming without having prostrated himself. Alexander did not permit Callisthenes therefore to kiss him; and Callisthenes remarked, "I shall go off short of a kiss."

All this, as far as it bears on the arrogance of Alexander at the time and the rudeness of Callisthenes, I in no sort of way approve. It seems to me enough that a man as far as himself is concerned should behave in a seemly way, and that when a man has consented to serve a King, he should exalt the King's doings in every possible way. Rightly therefore, in my judgment, was Alexander angry with Callisthenes both for his unseasonable freedom of speech and for his foolish arrogance. I gather that this is why people easily credit the detractors of Callisthenes who suggest that he had a part in the plot laid against Alexander by his squires; some even say that Callisthenes incited them to the plot. The story of the plot is as follows.

XIII. Philip had long ago ordained that the sons of Macedonian notables who had reached adolescence should be attached to the service of the King; and

βασιλέως, τά τε περὶ τὴν ἄλλην δίαιταν τοῦ σώματος διακονεῖσθαι βασιλεῖ καὶ κοιμώμενον φυλάσσειν τούτοις ἐπετέτραπτο· καὶ ὁπότε ἐξελαύνοι βασιλεύς, τοὺς ἵππους παρὰ τῶν ἱπποκόμων δεχόμενοι ἐκεῖνοι προσῆγον καὶ ἀνέβαλλον οὗτοι βασιλέα τὸν Περσικὸν τρόπον καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ θήρᾳ φιλοτιμίας βασιλεῖ κοινωνοὶ ἦσαν.

2 Τούτων καὶ Ἑρμόλαος ἦν, Σωπόλιδος μὲν παῖς, φιλοσοφίᾳ δὲ ἐδόκει προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν καὶ Καλλισθένην θεραπεύειν ἐπὶ τῷδε. Ὑπὲρ τούτου λόγος κατέχει ὅτι ἐν θήρᾳ προσφερομένου Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συὸς ἔφθη βαλὼν τὸν σῦν ὁ Ἑρμόλαος· καὶ ὁ μὲν σῦς πίπτει βληθείς, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τοῦ καιροῦ ὑστερίσας ἐχαλέπηνε τῷ Ἑρμολάῳ καὶ κελεύει αὐτὸν πρὸς ὀργὴν πληγὰς λαβεῖν, ὁρώντων τῶν ἄλλων παίδων, καὶ τὸν ἵππον αὐτοῦ ἀφείλετο.

3 Τοῦτον τὸν Ἑρμόλαον ἀλγήσαντα τῇ ὕβρει φράσαι πρὸς Σώστρατον τὸν Ἀμύντου, ἡλικιώτην τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐραστὴν ὄντα, ὅτι οὐ βιωτόν οἵ ἐστι μὴ τιμωρησαμένῳ Ἀλέξανδρον τῆς ὕβρεως, καὶ τὸν Σώστρατον οὐ χαλεπῶς συμπεῖσαι μετασχεῖν
4 τοῦ ἔργου, ἅτε ἐρῶντα. Ὑπὸ τούτων δὲ ἀναπεισθῆναι Ἀντίπατρόν τε τὸν Ἀσκληπιοδώρου τοῦ Συρίας σατραπεύσαντος καὶ Ἐπιμένην τὸν Ἀρσέου καὶ Ἀντικλέα τὸν Θεοκρίτου καὶ Φιλώταν τὸν Κάρσιδος τοῦ Θρᾳκός. Ὡς οὖν περιῆκεν ἐς Ἀντίπατρον ἡ νυκτερινὴ φυλακή, ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ ξυγκείμενον εἶναι ἀποκτεῖναι Ἀλέξανδρον, κοιμωμένῳ ἐπιπεσόντας.

5 Ξυμβῆναι δὲ οἱ μὲν αὐτομάτως λέγουσιν ἔστε ἡμέραν πίνειν Ἀλέξανδρον· Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ

besides general attendance on his person, the duty of guarding him when asleep had been entrusted to them. Again, whenever the King rode out, they received the horses from the grooms and led them up, assisted the King to mount in Persian fashion, and were his companions in the rivalry of the chase. Among them was one Hermolaus a son of Sopolis; he was reputed to be a zealous student of philosophy and to be a follower of Callisthenes to this end. About him there is a story that once in a hunt a wild boar charged Alexander and that Hermolaus hastened to pierce the boar, which indeed fell from the stroke; but Alexander, too late for his chance, was angry with Hermolaus and in his passion ordered him to be whipped in the presence of his fellow-pages, and took his horse from him.

This Hermolaus, feeling bitterly the degradation, told Sostratus son of Amyntas his comrade and fast friend that he found life no longer worth living until he had avenged himself on Alexander for this injustice. Sostratus for his part was easily enough, by reason of his infatuation, persuaded to join in the business. Then the two won over Antipater son of Asclepiodorus, who had been satrap of Syria, Epimenes son of Arseus, Anticles son of Theocritus, and Philotas son of Carsis the Thracian. So when the turn of keeping guard by night fell to Antipater, it was resolved to assassinate Alexander by attacking him in his sleep.

It so fell out that Alexander, not from any outside suggestion, as some say, kept on drinking till daylight.

ὧδε ἀνέγραψε· Σύραν γυναῖκα ἐφομαρτεῖν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, κάτοχον ἐκ τοῦ θείου γιγνομένην· καὶ ταύτην τὸ μὲν πρῶτον γέλωτα εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τε καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτόν· ὡς δὲ τὰ πάντα ἐν τῇ κατοχῇ ἀληθεύουσα ἐφαίνετο, οὐκέτι ἀμελεῖσθαι ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἀλλ' εἶναι γὰρ τῇ Σύρᾳ πρόσοδον πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν, καὶ καθεύδοντι πολλάκις ἤδη ἐπιστῆναι.

6 Καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἀπαλλασσομένου ἐκ τοῦ πότου, κατεχομένην ἐκ τοῦ θείου ἐντυχεῖν, καὶ δεῖσθαι ἐπανελθόντα πίνειν ὅλην τὴν νύκτα· καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον θεῖόν τι εἶναι νομίσαντα ἐπανελθεῖν τε καὶ πίνειν, καὶ οὕτω τοῖς παισὶ διαπεσεῖν τὸ ἔργον.

7 Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Ἐπιμένης ὁ Ἀρσέου τῶν μετεχόντων τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς φράζει τὴν πρᾶξιν Χαρικλεῖ τῷ Μενάνδρου, ἐραστῇ ἑαυτοῦ γεγονότι· Χαρικλῆς δὲ φράζει Εὐρυλόχῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τῷ Ἐπιμένους. Καὶ ὁ Εὐρύλοχος ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου, Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Λάγου τῷ σωματοφύλακι καταλέγει ἅπαν τὸ πρᾶγμα· ὁ δε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἔφρασε. Καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ξυλλαβεῖν κελεύει ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα εἶπεν ὁ Εὐρύλοχος· καὶ οὗτοι στρεβλούμενοι σφῶν τε αὐτῶν κατεῖπον τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν καί τινας καὶ ἄλλους ὠνόμασαν.

XIV. Ἀριστόβουλος μὲν λέγει ὅτι καὶ Καλλισθένην ἐπᾶραι σφᾶς ἔφασαν ἐς τὸ τόλμημα· καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὡσαύτως λέγει. Οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ οὐ ταύτῃ λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ μῖσος γὰρ τὸ ἤδη ὂν πρὸς Καλλισθένην ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ὅτι ὁ Ἑρμόλαος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπιτήδειος ἦν τῷ

Aristobulus, however, says that a Syrian woman with a spirit of divination followed Alexander, and that she was at first a laughing-stock both to Alexander and his friends; but when everything in her divination seemed to come true, Alexander no longer made light of her, but the Syrian had access to the King day and night and often watched over him as he slept. On this occasion then when Alexander rose from his potations she met him, while under the spell of her inspiration, and begged him to return and continue drinking all night long; Alexander therefore, believing this warning to be prophetic, returned and continued, and so the plot of the squires came to nothing.

Next day, however, Epimenes son of Arseus, one of the conspirators, told Charicles son of Menander, whose favourite he was, of the plot, Charicles told Eurylochus brother of Epimenes, and Eurylochus entered Alexander's tent, and revealed to Ptolemaeus son of Lagus the whole affair, on which Alexander caused all whose names Eurylochus had given to be arrested; and they in turn being put to the question revealed both their own plot and implicated others also.

XIV. Aristobulus indeed declares that they said that it was Callisthenes who had urged them to the plot; and Ptolemaeus agrees. But most authorities do not say so; but only that by reason of Alexander's dislike for Callisthenes and because Hermolaus was

Καλλισθένει, οὐ χαλεπῶς πιστεῦσαι τὰ χείρω
2 ὑπὲρ Καλλισθένους Ἀλέξανδρον. Ἤδη δέ τινες καὶ τάδε ἀνέγραψαν, τὸν Ἑρμόλαον προαχθέντα ἐς τοὺς Μακεδόνας ὁμολογεῖν τε ἐπιβουλεῦσαι (καὶ γὰρ οὐκ εἶναι ἔτι ἐλευθέρῳ ἀνδρὶ φέρειν τὴν ὕβριν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου), πάντα καταλέγοντα, τήν τε Φιλώτα οὐκ ἔνδικον τελευτὴν καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Παρμενίωνος ἔτι ἐκνομωτέραν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τότε ἀποθανόντων, καὶ τὴν Κλείτου ἐν μέθῃ ἀναίρεσιν, καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν Μηδικήν, καὶ τὴν προσκύνησιν τὴν βουλευθεῖσαν καὶ οὔπω πεπαυμένην, καὶ πότους τε καὶ ὕπνους τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου· ταῦτα οὐ φέροντα ἔτι ἐλευθερῶσαι ἐθελῆσαι ἑαυτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Μακεδόνας.
3 Τοῦτον μὲν δὴ αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ ξυλληφθέντας καταλευσθῆναι πρὸς τῶν παρόντων. Καλλισθένην δὲ Ἀριστόβουλος μὲν λέγει δεδεμένον ἐν πέδαις ξυμπεριάγεσθαι τῇ στρατιᾷ, ἔπειτα νόσῳ τελευτῆσαι, Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Λάγου στρεβλωθέντα καὶ κρεμασθέντα ἀποθανεῖν. Οὕτως οὐδὲ οἱ πάνυ πιστοὶ ἐς τὴν ἀφήγησιν καὶ ξυγγενόμενοι ἐν τῷ τότε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὑπὲρ τῶν γνωρίμων τε καὶ οὐ λαθόντων σφᾶς ὅπως ἐπρά-
4 χθη ξύμφωνα ἀνέγραψαν. Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ὑπὲρ τούτων αὐτῶν ἄλλοι ἄλλως ἀφηγήσαντο· ἀλλ᾽ ἐμοὶ ταῦτα ἀποχρῶντα ἔστω ἀναγεγραμμένα. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον πραχθέντα ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς ἀμφὶ Κλεῖτον ξυνενεχθεῖσιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀνέγραψα, τούτοις μᾶλλόν τι οἰκεῖα ὑπολαβὼν ἐς τὴν ἀφήγησιν.

XV. Παρ᾽ Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ ἧκε καὶ αὖθις Σκυθῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης πρεσβεία ξὺν

in closest contact with Callisthenes, Alexander easily believed the worst story about Callisthenes. Some also have ere now written that Hermolaus, summoned before the Macedonians, confessed that he had conspired, for no freeborn man could endure longer the arrogance of Alexander; and went over the whole story, how Philotas had been unjustly put to death, and the still more illegal execution of his father Parmenio and of the others who suffered at the same time; the murder of Cleitus at a drinking party; the wearing of Median garb, the prostration ceremonies decreed, and not yet revoked, and Alexander's drinkings and heavy slumbers; unable to bear, he asserted, all this, he had desired to free both himself and the rest of the Macedonians. Hermolaus himself and the others arrested with him, they say, were stoned to death by those present at the conference. As for Callisthenes, Aristobulus relates that he was bound with fetters and led about with the army, but at length died of sickness. But Ptolemaeus son of Lagus says that he was tortured and then put to death by hanging. Thus not even those whose narrations are entirely trustworthy and who actually accompanied Alexander at that time agree in their accounts of notorious events of which they had full knowledge. In many other points different writers told different tales about these very events; what I have written must suffice. At any rate all this which took place not long afterwards, I have related as part of the story of Cleitus, regarding it as really akin to Cleitus' story for the purpose of narration.

XV. Now a second time envoys came to Alexander from the European Scythians, together with the

τοῖς πρέσβεσιν οἷς αὐτὸς ἐς Σκύθας ἔστειλεν. Ὁ μὲν δὴ τότε βασιλεὺς τῶν Σκυθῶν, ὅτε οὗτοι ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπέμποντο, τετελευτηκὼς
2 ἐτύγχανεν· ἀδελφὸς δὲ ἐκείνου ἐβασίλευεν. Ἦν δὲ ὁ νοῦς τῆς πρεσβείας, ἐθέλειν ποιεῖν πᾶν τὸ ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπαγγελλόμενον Σκύθας· καὶ δῶρα ἔφερον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Σκυθῶν ὅσα μέγιστα νομίζεται ἐν Σκύθαις· καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα ὅτι ἐθέλει Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δοῦναι γυναῖκα βεβαιότητος οὕνεκα τῆς πρὸς Ἀλέ-
3 ξανδρον φιλίας τε καὶ ξυμμαχίας. Εἰ δὲ ἀπαξιοῖ τὴν Σκυθῶν βασίλισσαν γῆμαι Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀλλὰ τῶν γε σατραπῶν τῶν τῆς Σκυθικῆς χώρας καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι δυνάσται κατὰ τὴν γῆν τὴν Σκυθίδα, τούτων τὰς παῖδας ἐθέλειν δοῦναι τοῖς πιστοτάτοις τῶν ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον· ἥξειν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφασκεν, εἰ κελεύοιτο, ὡς παρ' αὐτοῦ
4 Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀκοῦσαι ὅσα ἐπαγγέλλοι. Ἀφίκετο δ' ἐν τούτῳ παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Φαρασμάνης ὁ Χωρασμίων βασιλεὺς ξὺν ἱππεῦσι χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις. Ἔφασκε δὲ ὁ Φαρασμάνης ὅμορος οἰκεῖν τῷ τε Κόλχων γένει καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ ταῖς Ἀμαζόσι, καὶ εἰ ἐθέλοι Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐπὶ Κόλχους τε καὶ Ἀμαζόνας ἐλάσας καταστρέψασθαι τὰ ἐπὶ τὸν πόντον τὸν Εὔξεινον ταύτῃ καθήκοντα γένη, ὁδῶν τε ἡγεμὼν ἔσεσθαι ἐπηγγέλλετο καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῇ στρατιᾷ παρασκευάσειν.

5 Τοῖς τε οὖν παρὰ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἥκουσι φιλάνθρωπα ἀποκρίνεται Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἐς τὸν τότε καιρὸν ξύμφορα· γάμου δὲ οὐδὲν δεῖσθαι Σκυθικοῦ· καὶ Φαρασμάνην ἐπαινέσας τε καὶ φιλίαν καὶ ξυμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ξυνθέμενος

envoys whom he himself had sent to Scythia. For the king of the Scythians at the time when these had been sent by Alexander had died; and his brother was now King. The purpose of the embassy was to express the readiness of the Scythians to do whatsoever Alexander commanded; and they brought gifts for Alexander from the King of Scythia such as are greatly accounted of in Scythia; and they said also that the King wished to give to Alexander his daughter to wife, to confirm his friendship and alliance with Alexander. If, however, Alexander should not care to marry the Scythian princess, yet he was desirous to give the daughters of the governors of the Scythian territory and of the chief personages in Scythia to the most trusty of Alexander's followers; he added also that he would come to visit Alexander, should he be summoned, to receive Alexander's commands in person. There came also to Alexander at the same time also Pharasmanes the King of the Chorasinians with fifteen hundred horsemen. Pharasmanes said that he lived on the borders of the Colchians and of the Amazon women; and should Alexander desire to invade Colchis and the territory of the Amazons and subdue all the races in this direction which dwelt near the Euxine Sea, he promised to act as guide and to provide all necessities for the expeditionary force.

Alexander therefore replied courteously to the Scythian envoys, and suitably to the occasion. He had, he said, no need of an alliance by marriage with Scythia; he then thanked Pharasmanes and made friendship and alliance with him, but said that it was

αὐτῷ μὲν τότε οὐκ ἔφη ἐν καιρῷ εἶναι ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τὸν Πόντον· Ἀρταβάζῳ δὲ τῷ Πέρσῃ, ὅτῳ τὰ Βακτρίων ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπετέτραπτο,[1] καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι πρόσχωροι τούτῳ σατράπαι ξυστήσας Φαρασμάνην ἀποπέμπει ἐς τὰ ἤθη τὰ αὐτοῦ. Αὐτῷ δὲ τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἔφη ἐν τῷ τότε μέλειν·
6 τούτους γὰρ καταστρεψάμενος πᾶσαν ἂν ἤδη ἔχειν τὴν Ἀσίαν· ἐχομένης δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπανιέναι ἂν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου τε καὶ τῆς Προποντίδος ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει πάσῃ τῇ τε ναυτικῇ καὶ τῇ πεζικῇ ἐλάσειν εἴσω τοῦ Πόντου· καὶ ἐς τὸ τότε ἠξίου ἀποθέσθαι Φαρασμάνην ὅσα ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα ἐπηγγέλλετο.

7 Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ὦξόν τε ποταμὸν ᾔει αὖθις καὶ ἐς τὴν Σογδιανὴν προχωρεῖν ἐγνώκει, ὅτι πολλοὺς τῶν Σογδιανῶν ἐς τὰ ἐρύματα ξυμπεφευγέναι ἠγγέλλετο οὐδὲ ἐθέλειν κατακούειν τοῦ σατράπου ὅστις αὐτοῖς ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπετέτακτο. Στρατοπεδεύοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Ὤξῳ, οὐ μακρὰν τῆς σκηνῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου πηγὴ ὕδατος καὶ ἄλλη ἐλαίου
8 πηγὴ πλησίον αὐτῆς ἀνέσχε. Καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Λάγου τῷ σωματοφύλακι ἐπειδὴ ἐσηγγέλθη τὸ τέρας, Πτολεμαῖος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἔφρασεν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἔθυεν ἐπὶ τῷ φάσματι ὅσα οἱ μάντεις ἐξηγοῦντο. Ἀρίστανδρος δὲ πόνων εἶναι σημεῖον τοῦ ἐλαίου τὴν πηγὴν ἔφασκεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ νίκην ἐπὶ τοῖς πόνοις σημαίνειν.

XVI. Διαβὰς οὖν ξὺν μέρει τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐς τὴν Σογδιανήν, Πολυσπέρχοντα δὲ καὶ Ἄτταλον

[1] ἐπετέτακτο from A Roos, suggesting to add κοσμεῖν.

not just then convenient to make an expedition to Pontus. But he commended Pharasmanes to Artabazus the Persian, to whom Alexander had entrusted affairs in Bactria, and to all the other neighbouring satraps, and he dismissed him to his own home. He said that for the time being he had India in contemplation; for by subduing India he would then have all Asia; but when he was master of Asia he would return to Greece; and thence in the direction of the Hellespont and the Propontis would make an expedition into Pontus with all his forces, navy and infantry alike; Pharasmanes must therefore reserve his promises which he now made to that future time.

He himself returned now to the river Oxus, and determined to proceed to Sogdiana, since it was reported that many of the Sogdianians had taken refuge in their forts and would not obey the satrap set over them by Alexander. Now while he was encamped on the river Oxus, not far from the tent of Alexander himself a spring of water, and another of oil near it, came up from the ground. And when this marvel was related to Ptolemaeus son of Lagus of the royal bodyguard, he told Alexander; and Alexander sacrificed, on account of this portent, what the soothsayers recommended. Aristander said that the spring of oil was a sign of labours to come; but that it portended victory after the labours.

XVI. So when he had passed with part of his force into Sogdiana, leaving behind Polysperchon and

καὶ Γοργίαν καὶ Μελέαγρον αὐτοῦ ἐν Βάκτροις
ὑπολιπόμενος, τούτοις μὲν παρήγγειλε τήν τε
χώραν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν, ὡς μή τι νεωτερίσωσιν
οἱ ταύτῃ βάρβαροι, καὶ τοὺς ἤδη ἀφεστηκότας
2 αὐτῶν ἐξαιρεῖν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς πέντε μέρη διελὼν
τὴν ἅμα οἷ στρατιάν, τῶν μὲν Ἡφαιστίωνα
ἄρχειν ἔταξε, τῶν δὲ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Λάγου τὸν
σωματοφύλακα· τοῖς τρίτοις δὲ Περδίκκαν ἐπέ-
ταξε· τῆς δὲ τετάρτης τάξεως Κοῖνος καὶ Ἀρτά-
βαζος ἡγοῦντο αὐτῶν· τὴν δὲ πέμπτην μοῖραν
ἀναλαβὼν αὐτὸς ἐπῄει τὴν χώραν ὡς ἐπὶ Μαρά-
3 κανδα. Καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὡς ἑκάστοις προὐχώρει
ἐπῄεσαν, τοὺς μέν τινας τῶν ἐς τὰ ἐρύματα
ξυμπεφευγότων βίᾳ ἐξαιροῦντες, τοὺς δὲ καὶ
ὁμολογίᾳ προσχωροῦντάς σφισιν ἀναλαμβά-
νοντες. Ὡς δὲ ξύμπασα αὐτῷ ἡ δύναμις, ἐπελ-
θοῦσα τῶν Σογδιανῶν τῆς χώρας τὴν πολλήν,
ἐς Μαράκανδα ἀφίκετο, Ἡφαιστίωνα μὲν ἐκπέμ-
πει τὰς ἐν τῇ Σογδιανῇ πόλεις συνοικίζειν, Κοῖνον
δὲ καὶ Ἀρτάβαζον ὡς ἐς Σκύθας, ὅτι ἐς Σκύθας
καταπεφευγέναι Σπιταμένης αὐτῷ ἐξηγγέλλετο·
αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τῇ λοιπῇ στρατιᾷ ἐπιὼν τῆς
Σογδιανῆς ὅσα ἔτι πρὸς τῶν ἀφεστηκότων κατεί-
χετο, ταῦτα οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐξῄρει.
4 Ἐν τούτοις δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὄντος, Σπιταμένης
τε καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν Σογδιανῶν τινες φυγάδων ἐς
τῶν Σκυθῶν τῶν Μασσαγετῶν καλουμένων τὴν
χώραν ξυμπεφευγότες, ξυναγαγόντες τῶν Μασ-
σαγετῶν ἱππέας ἑξακοσίους, ἀφίκοντο πρός τι
5 φρούριον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Βακτριανήν. Καὶ τῷ
τε φρουράρχῳ οὐδὲν πολέμιον προσδεχομένῳ
ἐπιπεσόντες καὶ τοῖς ξὺν τούτῳ τὴν φυλακὴν

Attalus and Gorgias and Meleager there in Bactria, he bade them keep good watch over the country so that the tribesmen in those parts might not give trouble, and to destroy such as had already revolted; then he himself divided the force with him into five parts, and appointed Hephaestion to command one, Ptolemaeus the son of Lagus, his personal guard, another; over the third he set Perdiccas, and the fourth brigade was led by Coenus and Artabazus; and the fifth he took himself and invaded the district towards Maracanda. The others also advanced as they could, and stormed such as had taken refuge in the forts, and took over others who came and offered themselves in surrender. But when his whole force, having traversed the greater part of Sogdiana, arrived at Maracanda, he sent Hephaestion to plant settlements in the cities of Sogdiana, and Coenus and Artabazus in the direction of Scythia, since news came that Spitamenes had taken refuge there; and himself with the rest of the troops went on to such part of Sogdiana as was still held by the rebels, and subdued it without trouble.

While Alexander was busied about this, Spitamenes and some followers, fugitives from Sogdiana, had fled for refuge to the part of the Scythians called the Massagetae; there they collected six hundred horsemen of the Massagetae and arrived at one of the forts in the Bactrian region. Attacking the commandant of the garrison, who suspected no enemy action, and

ἔχουσι τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας διέφθειραν, τὸν φρούραρχον δὲ ἑλόντες ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχον. Θαρσήσαντες δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ φρουρίου τῇ καταλήψει ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ὕστερον Ζαριάσποις πελάσαντες, τῇ μὲν πόλει προσβαλεῖν ἀπέγνωσαν, λείαν δὲ πολλὴν περιβαλλόμενοι ἤλαυνον.

6 Ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ζαριάσποις, νόσῳ ὑπολελειμμένοι, τῶν ἑταίρων ἱππέων οὐ πολλοὶ καὶ ξὺν τούτοις Πείθων τε ὁ Σωσικλέους, ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς θεραπείας τῆς ἐν Ζαριάσποις τεταγμένος, καὶ Ἀριστόνικος ὁ κιθαρῳδός. Καὶ οὗτοι αἰσθόμενοι τῶν Σκυθῶν τὴν καταδρομὴν (ἤδη γὰρ ἐκ τῆς νόσου ἀναρρωσθέντες ὅπλα τε ἔφερον καὶ τῶν ἵππων ἐπέβαινον), ξυναγαγόντες τούς τε μισθοφόρους ἱππέας ἐς ὀγδοήκοντα, οἳ ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῶν Ζαριάσπων ὑπολελειμμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ τῶν παίδων τινὰς τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐκβοηθοῦσιν
7 ἐπὶ τοὺς Μασσαγέτας. Καὶ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ προσβολῇ οὐδὲν ὑποτοπήσασι τοῖς Σκύθαις ἐπιπεσόντες τήν τε λείαν ξύμπασαν ἀφείλοντο αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν ἀγόντων τὴν λείαν οὐκ ὀλίγους ἀπέκτειναν. Ἐπανιόντες δὲ αὐτοὶ ἀτάκτως, ἅτε οὐδενὸς ἐξηγουμένου, ἐνεδρευθέντες πρὸς Σπιταμένους καὶ τῶν Σκυθῶν τῶν μὲν ἑταίρων ἀποβάλλουσιν ἑπτά, τῶν δὲ μισθοφόρων ἱππέων ἑξήκοντα· καὶ Ἀριστόνικος ὁ κιθαρῳδὸς αὐτοῦ ἀποθνήσκει, οὐ κατὰ κιθαρῳδὸν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος. Πείθων δὲ τρωθεὶς ζῶν λαμβάνεται πρὸς τῶν Σκυθῶν.

XVII. Καὶ ταῦτα ὡς Κρατέρῳ ἐξηγγέλθη, σπουδῇ ἐπὶ τοὺς Μασσαγέτας ἤλαυνεν. Οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐπύθοντο πλησίον ἐπελαύνοντά σφισι Κρά-

the garrison with him, they destroyed the soldiers and kept the commandant in custody. They themselves then, after capturing this stronghold, feeling encouraged, approached Zariaspa a few days later, and though they decided not to assault the city, they surrounded and drove off much booty.

In the city of Zariaspa were some of the Companions' cavalry, left there on account of ill-health, and with them Peithon son of Sosicles, set over the general attendance on the King, and Aristonicus the harpist. These learning of the Scythian raid, and being now recovered, and able to bear arms and mount on horseback, assembled the mercenary cavalry up to the number of eighty, who had been left behind to garrison Zariaspa, and some also of the King's squires, and made an attack on the Massagetae. At the first charge, falling on the Scythians when they suspected nothing, they robbed them of their entire plunder, and slew a good number of those who were driving it off. Then, however, when they were retiring in some disorder, with no one in command, Spitamenes and the Scythians caught them in an ambush, where they lost some of the Companions, and sixty of the mercenary cavalry. Aristonicus, too the harpist, perished there, having fought not as a harpist might, but as a good man and true. Peithon was wounded and captured by the Scythians.

XVII. When this was reported to Craterus, he hurried at all speed to the Massagetae, and when they learned that Craterus was approaching them,

τερον, ἔφευγον ἀνὰ κράτος ὡς ἐς τὴν ἐρήμην. Καὶ Κράτερος ἐχόμενος αὐτῶν αὐτοῖς τε ἐκείνοις περιπίπτει οὐ πόρρω τῆς ἐρήμου καὶ ἄλλοις
2 ἱππεῦσι Μασσαγετῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς χιλίους. Καὶ μάχη γίγνεται τῶν [τε] Μακεδόνων καὶ τῶν Σκυθῶν καρτερά· καὶ ἐνίκων οἱ Μακεδόνες. Τῶν δὲ Σκυθῶν ἀπέθανον μὲν ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα ἱππεῖς· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐς τὴν ἐρήμην διεσώθησαν, ὅτι ἄπορον ἦν προσωτέρω τοῖς Μακεδόσι διώκειν.

3 Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀρτάβαζον μὲν τῆς σατραπείας τῆς Βακτρίων ἀπαλλάττει δεηθέντα διὰ γῆρας, Ἀμύνταν δὲ τὸν Νικολάου σατράπην ἀντ' αὐτοῦ καθίστησι. Κοῖνον δὲ ἀπολείπει αὐτοῦ τήν τε αὑτοῦ τάξιν καὶ τὴν Μελεάγρου ἔχοντα καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων ἱππέων ἐς τετρακοσίους καὶ τοὺς ἱππακοντιστὰς πάντας καὶ τῶν Βακτρίων τε καὶ Σογδιανῶν καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι μετὰ Ἀμύντου ἐτάχθησαν, προστάξας ἅπασιν ἀκούειν Κοίνου καὶ διαχειμάζειν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Σογδιανῇ, τῆς τε χώρας ἕνεκα τῆς φυλακῆς καὶ εἴ πη[1] ἄρα Σπιταμένην περιφερόμενον κατὰ τὸν χειμῶνα ἐνεδρεύσαντας ξυλλαβεῖν.

4 Σπιταμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ὡς φρουραῖς τε πάντα κατειλημμένα ἑώρων ἐκ τῶν Μακεδόνων καί σφισιν ἄπορα πάντα τὰ τῆς φυγῆς ἐγίγνετο, ὡς ἐπὶ Κοῖνόν τε καὶ τὴν ξὺν τούτῳ στρατιὰν ἐτράποντο, ὡς ταύτῃ μᾶλλόν τι ἀξιόμαχοι ἐσόμενοι. Ἀφικόμενοι δὲ ἐς Βαγάς, χωρίον τῆς Σογδιανῆς ὀχυρόν, ἐν μεθορίῳ τῆς

[1] Polak adds (εἴ πη) εἴη. Schmieder ἐνεδρεύσαντες ξυλλαβοῖεν. Neither seems necessary.

they fled hastily into the desert. Then Craterus pressing upon them fell in with them not far from the desert and with other Massagetaean horsemen, over a thousand in number. A severe battle took place between the Macedonians and the Scythians, and the Macedonians had the better of it. Of the Scythians a hundred and fifty horsemen perished, but the rest easily got away into the desert, since it was impracticable for the Macedonians to pursue further.

Meanwhile Alexander had permitted Artabazus the satrap of Bactria, at his request, on account of old age, to resign his satrapy; and now appointed Amyntas son of Nicolaus in his place. Coenus he left there with his own brigade and Meleager's, and up to four hundred of the Companions' cavalry, all the mounted javelin-men, and of the Bactrians and Sogdianians such as were attached to Amyntas, commanding them all to take their orders from Coenus, and to go into winter quarters there in Sogdiana, partly to keep an eye on this region and partly to try to ambush and capture Spitamenes, should he come raiding in that direction in the winter.

But Spitamenes and his troops finding every place occupied by Macedonian garrisons and no likelihood of escape anywhere for themselves, turned towards Coenus and his troops, thinking that in that direction they would make a better fight of it. Arriving at Bagae, a stronghold of Sogdiana, lying

τε Σογδιανῶν γῆς καὶ τῆς Μασσαγετῶν Σκυθῶν
ᾠκισμένον, ἀναπείθουσιν οὐ χαλεπῶς τῶν Σκυ-
θῶν ἱππέας ἐς τρισχιλίους συνεμβάλλειν σφίσιν
5 ἐς τὴν Σογδιανήν. Οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι οὗτοι ἀπορίᾳ
τε πολλῇ ἔχονται καὶ ἅμα ὅτι οὔτε πόλεις εἰσὶν
αὐτοῖς οὔτε ἑδραῖοι οἰκοῦσιν, ὡς δειμαίνειν ἂν
περὶ τῶν φιλτάτων, οὐ χαλεποὶ ἀναπεισθῆναί
εἰσιν ἐς ἄλλον καὶ ἄλλον πόλεμον. Ὡς δὲ
Κοῖνός τε καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔμαθον προσιόντας
τοὺς ξὺν Σπιταμένῃ ἱππέας, ἀπήντων καὶ αὐτοὶ
μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς. Καὶ γίγνεται αὐτῶν μάχη
6 καρτερά· καὶ νικῶσιν οἱ Μακεδόνες, ὥστε τῶν
μὲν βαρβάρων ἱππέων ὑπὲρ τοὺς ὀκτακοσίους
πεσεῖν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, τῶν δὲ ξὺν Κοίνῳ ἱππέας
μὲν ἐς εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε, πεζοὺς δὲ δώδεκα. Οἵ
τε οὖν Σογδιανοὶ οἱ ἔτι ὑπολειπόμενοι ξὺν
Σπιταμένῃ καὶ τῶν Βακτρίων οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπολεί-
πουσιν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ Σπιταμένην καὶ ἀφικόμενοι
παρὰ Κοῖνον παρέδοσαν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς Κοίνῳ,
7 οἵ τε Μασσαγέται οἱ Σκύθαι κακῶς πεπραγότες
τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα τῶν ξυμπαραταξαμένων σφίσι
Βακτρίων τε καὶ Σογδιανῶν διήρπασαν, αὐτοὶ
δὲ ξὺν Σπιταμένῃ ἐς τὴν ἔρημον ἔφευγον. Ὡς
δὲ ἐξήγγελτο αὐτοῖς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν ὁρμῇ ὢν
ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρημον ἐλαύνειν, ἀποτεμόντες τοῦ Σπιτα-
μένου τὴν κεφαλὴν παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον πέμπου-
σιν, ὡς ἀποστρέψοντες ἀπὸ σφῶν αὐτὸν τούτῳ
τῷ ἔργῳ.

XVIII. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Κοῖνός τε ἐς Ναύτακα
παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπανέρχεται καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ
Κράτερόν τε καὶ Φραταφέρνην τὸν τῶν Παρ-
θυαίων σατράπην καὶ Στασάνωρ ὁ Ἀρείων, πε-

between the land of Sogdiana and that of the Massagetaean Scythians, they easily induced up to three thousand horsemen of the Scythians to join with them in a raid on Sogdiana. Now these Scythians are in great poverty, and also, since they have no cities and no settled habitations, so that they have no fear for their homes, they are easy to persuade to take part in any war which may offer, and when Coenus and his force learned that the cavalry with Spitamenes was approaching, they with their troops went to meet them. There was a severe battle, in which the Macedonians had the upper hand, so that of the tribesmen's cavalry over eight hundred fell in the battle, but of Coenus' troops about twenty-five horsemen and twelve foot-soldiers. So the Sogdianians still left with Spitamenes and the greater number of the Bactrians deserted Spitamenes during the flight and came to Coenus and surrendered themselves to him, The Massagetaean Scythians after this disaster plundered the baggage trains of the Bactrians and Sogdianians who had fought along with them, and themselves with Spitamenes fled to the desert. When they learnt that Alexander was already on the move and marching towards the desert, they cut off Spitamenes' head and sent it to Alexander, to divert him, by this action, from themselves.

XVIII. Meantime Coenus and Craterus with his men had returned to Alexander at Nautaca, and Phrataphernes the satrap of Parthyaea, with his troops, and Stasanor satrap of Areia, after accom-

πραγμένων σφίσι πάντων ὅσα ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου
2 ἐτέτακτο. Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, περὶ Ναύτακα ἀναπαύων τὴν στρατιὰν ὅτιπερ ἀκμαῖον ἦν τοῦ χειμῶνος, Φραταφέρνην μὲν ἀποστέλλει ἐς Μάρδους καὶ Ταπούρους, Αὐτοφραδάτην ἐπανάξοντα τὸν σατράπην, ὅτι πολλάκις ἤδη μετάπεμπτος ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου γιγνόμενος οὐχ ὑπήκουε
3 καλοῦντι. Στασάνορα δὲ ἐς Δράγγας σατράπην ἐκπέμπει, ἐς Μήδους δ' Ἀτροπάτην ἐπὶ σατραπείᾳ καὶ τοῦτον τῇ Μήδων, ὅτι Ὀξοδάτης ἐθελοκακεῖν αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο. Σταμένην δὲ ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος στέλλει, ὅτι Μαζαῖος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ὕπαρχος τετελευτηκέναι αὐτῷ ἐξηγγέλλετο. Σώπολιν δὲ καὶ Ἐπόκιλλον καὶ Μενίδαν ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐκπέμπει, τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν ἐκ Μακεδονίας αὐτῷ ἀνάξοντας.

4 Ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἦρι ὑποφαίνοντι προὐχώρει ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ Σογδιανῇ πέτραν, ἐς ἣν πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν Σογδιανῶν ξυμπεφευγέναι αὐτῷ ἐξηγγέλλετο· καὶ ἡ Ὀξυάρτου δὲ γυνὴ τοῦ Βακτρίου καὶ αἱ παῖδες αἱ Ὀξυάρτου ἐς τὴν πέτραν ταύτην ξυμπεφευγέναι ἐλέγοντο, Ὀξυάρτου αὐτὰς ὡς ἐς ἀνάλωτον δῆθεν τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνο ὑπεκθεμένου, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἀφειστήκει ἀπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου. Ταύτης γὰρ ἐξαιρεθείσης οὐκέτι οὐδὲν ὑπολειφθήσεσθαι ἐδόκει τῶν Σογδιανῶν τοῖς
5 νεωτερίζειν ἐθέλουσιν. Ὡς δὲ ἐπέλασαν τῇ πέτρᾳ, καταλαμβάνει πάντῃ ἀπότομον ἐς τὴν προσβολήν, σιτία τε ξυγκεκομισμένους τοὺς βαρβάρους ὡς ἐς χρόνιον πολιορκίαν· καὶ χιὼν πολλὴ ἐπιπεσοῦσα τήν τε πρόσβασιν ἀπορωτέραν ἐποίει τοῖς Μακεδόσι καὶ ἅμα ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ

plishing all that Alexander had commanded them. But Alexander, resting his force at Nautaca, since winter was at its depth, despatched Phrataphernes to the Mardians and Tapurians, to bring back the satrap Autophradates, because he had often hitherto been sent for by Alexander but had not obeyed the summons. Stasanor he sent to the Drangians as satrap, to the Medes Atropates, as satrap of Media, since he had heard that Oxodates had ill-will against himself. Stamenes he sent to Babylon, since Mazaeus the governor of Babylon was reported dead. Sopolis and Epocillus and Menidas he sent to Macedonia, to bring thence to him the army due from Macedonia.

With the first appearance of spring Alexander marched forward towards the Rock of Sogdiana, to which, as he was told, a good many of the Sogdianians had fled for refuge; and the wife of Oxyartes the Bactrian and his daughters were also reported to have taken refuge in this rock, Oxyartes having secretly sent them thither as to a place too strong to be captured; for he himself also had revolted from Alexander. Once this was taken it seemed that nothing would be left any longer for those Sogdianians who wished to rebel. But when they approached the rock, Alexander found it sheer on all sides against attack, and that the tribesmen had stored there provisions for a long siege; and deep snow having fallen made the approach more difficult for the Macedonians,

ὕδατος τοὺς βαρβάρους διῆγεν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὣς
6 προσβάλλειν ἐδόκει τῷ χωρίῳ. Καὶ γάρ τι
καὶ ὑπέρογκον ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων λεχθὲν ἐς φιλοτιμίαν ξὺν ὀργῇ ἐμβεβλήκει Ἀλέξανδρον. Προκληθέντες γὰρ ἐς ξύμβασιν καὶ προτεινομένου σφίσιν ὅτι σώοις ὑπάρξει ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα ἀπαλλαγῆναι παραδοῦσι τὸ χωρίον, οἱ δὲ σὺν γέλωτι βαρβαρίζοντες πτηνοὺς ἐκέλευον ζητεῖν στρατιώτας Ἀλέξανδρον, οἵτινες αὐτῷ ἐξαιρήσουσι τὸ ὄρος, ὡς τῶν γε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων
7 οὐδεμίαν ὤραν σφίσιν οὖσαν. Ἔνθα δὴ ἐκήρυξεν Ἀλέξανδρος τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ ἀναβάντι δώδεκα τάλαντα εἶναι τὸ γέρας, δευτέρῳ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὰ δεύτερα καὶ τρίτῳ τὰ ἐφεξῆς, ὡς τελευταῖον εἶναι τῷ τελευταίῳ ἀνελθόντι τριακοσίους δαρεικοὺς τὸ γέρας. Καὶ τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα παρώξυνεν ἔτι μᾶλλον καὶ ἄλλως τοὺς Μακεδόνας ὡρμημένους.

XIX. Ξυνταξάμενοι δὴ ὅσοι πετροβατεῖν ἐν ταῖς πολιορκίαις αὐτῶν μεμελετήκεσαν, ἐς τριακοσίους τὸν ἀριθμόν, καὶ πασσάλους μικροὺς σιδηροῦς, οἷς αἱ σκηναὶ καταπεπήγεσαν αὐτοῖς, παρασκευάσαντες, τοῦ καταπηγνύναι αὐτοὺς ἔς τε τὴν χιόνα ὅπου πεπηγυῖα φανείη καὶ εἴ πού τι τῆς χώρας ἔρημον χιόνος ὑποφαίνοιτο, καὶ τούτους καλωδίοις ἐκ λίνου ἰσχυροῖς ἐκδήσαντες, τῆς νυκτὸς προὐχώρουν κατὰ τὸ ἀποτομώτατόν
2 τε τῆς πέτρας καὶ ταύτῃ ἀφυλακτότατον. Καὶ τούτους τοὺς πασσάλους καταπηγνύντες τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὴν γῆν, ὅπου διεφαίνετο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τῆς χιόνος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα οὐ θρυφθησόμενα, ἀνεῖλκον σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἄλλοι ἄλλῃ τῆς πέτρας.

while it assured to the tribesmen abundant water. Yet even so Alexander decided to assault the position. For some arrogant insult of the tribesmen had stirred Alexander to angry rivalry. For when summoned to a parley, and receiving the offer that they would be allowed to go safe to their homes if they gave up the position, they with barbaric laughter bade Alexander find winged soldiers to capture the height for him, since they cared for no other kind of men. Then Alexander proclaimed that the first to scale the height should have a first prize of twelve talents, the second, the second prize,[1] the third, the third prize, and the last prize for the last to reach the top was three hundred darics.[2] Eager as the Macedonians already were, this proclamation incited them even more.

XIX. So then when all those had assembled who had practised rock-climbing in their previous sieges, up to the number of three hundred, and had got ready small iron pegs, with which their tents were pegged down, in order to fix them into the snow, where it appeared frozen fast, and also if any space bare of snow showed up, and had bound these to strong linen ropes, they set out at night to the part of the rock which was most sheer, and so unguarded. These pegs they fixed, some into the ground, where it was visible, and some into the snow, where it seemed least likely to give way, and hauled themselves, one one way and one another, up the face of the cliff.

[1] That is, eleven talents, the third ten, and so on. The first twelve only got prizes.

[2] Three hundred gold darics made a talent.

Καὶ τούτων ἐς τριάκοντα μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει
διεφθάρησαν, ὥστε οὐδὲ τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ἐς
ταφὴν εὑρέθη, ἐμπεσόντα ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ τῆς
3 χιόνος. Οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἀναβάντες ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω
καὶ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ ὄρους καταλαβόντες σινδόνας
κατέσειον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Μακεδόνων,
οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου παρηγγελμένον.
Πέμψας δὲ κήρυκα ἐμβοῆσαι ἐκέλευσε τοῖς
προφυλάσσουσι τῶν βαρβάρων μὴ διατρίβειν
ἔτι, ἀλλὰ παραδιδόναι σφᾶς· ἐξευρῆσθαι γὰρ
δὴ τοὺς πτηνοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἔχεσθαι ὑπ'
αὐτῶν τοῦ ὄρους τὰ ἄκρα· καὶ ἅμα ἐδείκνυεν
τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς κορυφῆς στρατιώτας.
4 Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐκπλαγέντες τῷ παραλόγῳ
τῆς ὄψεως καὶ πλείονάς τε ὑποτοπήσαντες εἶναι
τοὺς κατέχοντας τὰ ἄκρα καὶ ἀκριβῶς ὡπλισ-
μένους, ἐνέδοσαν σφᾶς αὐτούς· οὕτω πρὸς τὴν
ὄψιν τῶν ὀλίγων ἐκείνων Μακεδόνων φοβεροὶ
ἐγένοντο. Ἔνθα δὴ ἄλλων τε πολλῶν γυναῖκες
καὶ παῖδες ἐλήφθησαν καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ Ὀξυάρτου
5 καὶ οἱ παῖδες. Καὶ γὰρ ἦν Ὀξυάρτου παῖς
παρθένος ἐν ὥρᾳ γάμου, Ῥωξάνη ὀνόματι, ἣν
δὴ καλλίστην τῶν Ἀσιανῶν γυναικῶν λέγουσιν
ὀφθῆναι οἱ ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ στρατεύσαντες μετά
γε τὴν Δαρείου γυναῖκα. Καὶ ταύτην ἰδόντα
Ἀλέξανδρον ἐς ἔρωτα ἐλθεῖν αὐτῆς· ἐρασθέντα
δὲ οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι ὑβρίσαι καθάπερ αἰχμάλωτον,
6 ἀλλὰ γῆμαι γὰρ οὐκ ἀπαξιῶσαι. Καὶ τοῦτο
ἐγὼ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸ ἔργον ἐπαινῶ μᾶλλόν τι ἢ
μέμφομαι. Καίτοιγε τῆς Δαρείου γυναικός, ἣ
καλλίστη δὴ ἐλέγετο τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ γυναικῶν,
ἢ οὐκ ἦλθεν ἐς ἐπιθυμίαν ἢ καρτερὸς αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ

Some thirty of them perished in the ascent, and their bodies were not even found for burial, having fallen in different places into the snow. The rest, however, reached the top about dawn, and seized the summit of the crag, and waved linen flags to the Macedonian camp, as Alexander had commanded them. Then Alexander sending a herald bade him shout to the advance guard of the tribesmen, bidding them delay no further but give themselves up forthwith; for he had found sure enough the winged men and the summit of their rock was already in their hands; and with that he pointed to the soldiers on the top.

The tribesmen were astounded at this miraculous sight, and suspecting that those who held the summit were more numerous than in reality, and fully armed, surrendered; so terrified were they at the sight of those few Macedonians. Wives and children of many of them were captured there, and also among these the wife and daughters of Oxyartes. Now there was a marriageable daughter of Oxyartes called Roxane,[1] and those who served with Alexander said that she was the loveliest woman in Asia next to Dareius' wife; Alexander when he saw her fell in love with her, but captive though she was, and deep in love as he was, he would not offer any violence to her, but deigned to marry her. This in Alexander I approve rather than blame. Yet for Dareius' wife, who was said to be the most beautiful woman in Asia, either he felt no love, or mastered himself, young though he

[1] The pronunciation is Rōxănē.

ἐγένετο, νέος τε ὢν καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς εὐτυχίας, ὁπότε ὑβρίζουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι· ὁ δὲ κατῃδέσθη τε καὶ ἐφείσατο, σωφροσύνῃ τε πολλῇ διαχρώμενος καὶ δόξης ἅμα ἀγαθῆς οὐκ ἀτόπῳ ἐφέσει.

XX. Καὶ *τοίνυν καὶ λόγος κατέχει, ὀλίγον μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἣ πρὸς Ἰσσῷ Δαρείῳ τε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ξυνέβη, ἀποδράντα ἐλθεῖν παρὰ Δαρεῖον τὸν εὐνοῦχον τὸν φύλακα αὐτῷ τῆς γυναικός.* Καὶ *τοῦτον ὡς εἶδε Δαρεῖος, πρῶτα μὲν πυθέσθαι εἰ ζῶσιν αὐτῷ οἱ παῖδες καὶ ἡ*
2 *γυνή τε καὶ ἡ μήτηρ. Ὡς δὲ ζώσας τε ἐπύθετο καὶ βασίλισσαι ὅτι καλοῦνται καὶ ἡ θεραπεία ὅτι ἀμφ᾽ αὐτάς ἐστιν ἥντινα καὶ ἐπὶ Δαρείου ἐθεραπεύοντο, ἐπὶ τῷδε αὖ πυθέσθαι εἰ σωφρονεῖ αὐτῷ ἡ γυνὴ ἔτι. Ὡς δὲ σωφρονοῦσαν ἐπύθετο, αὖθις ἐρέσθαι μήτι βίαιον ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου αὐτῇ ἐς ὕβριν ξυνέβη· καὶ τὸν εὐνοῦχον ἐπομόσαντα φάναι ὅτι, Ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὕτω τοι ὡς ἀπέλιπες ἔχει ἡ σὴ γυνή, καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀνδρῶν ἄριστός*
3 *τέ ἐστι καὶ σωφρονέστατος. Ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἀνατεῖναι Δαρεῖον ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ εὔξασθαι ὧδε· Ἀλλ᾽, ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, ὅτῳ ἐπιτέτραπται νέμειν τὰ βασιλέων πράγματα ἐν ἀνθρώποις, σὺ νῦν μάλιστα μὲν ἐμοὶ φύλαξον* Περσῶν *τε καὶ* Μήδων *τὴν ἀρχήν, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ ἔδωκας· εἰ δὲ δὴ ἐγὼ οὐκέτι σοι βασιλεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας, σὺ δὲ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ ὅτι μὴ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παραδοῦναι τὸ ἐμὸν κράτος.* Οὕτως *οὐδὲ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἄρα ἀμελεῖται ὅσα σώφρονα ἔργα.*

4 Ὀξυάρτης *δὲ ἀκούσας τὰς παῖδας ἐχομένας, ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ Ῥωξάνης τῆς θυγατρὸς ὅτι*

was and in the very flush of his prosperity—a period when men act violently; but he pitied and spared her, both showing much restraint and also a proper ambition for good repute.

XX. There is indeed also a story that soon after the battle of Issus between Dareius and Alexander, there escaped the chamberlain who had charge of Dareius' wife and fled to Dareius. When then Dareius saw him, he first asked if his children and his wife and mother were alive. When he learnt that they were, and that they had the title of princesses, and that the court paid to them was the same as when he was on the throne, Dareius next asked if his wife still remained true to him. Learning that she was, he enquired again whether any violence or insult had been offered to her by Alexander. The chamberlain with an oath replied, "O King, your wife is as you left her, and Alexander is the noblest and most self-controlled of men." At this, Dareius stretched his hands to the heavens and prayed thus: "O Zeus the King, to whom it has been given to order the affairs of Kings among men, do thou guard safe for me, if so it may be, the sovereignty of Persians and Medes, as thou didst give it me; but if I be no longer King of Asia, do thou give my power to none but to Alexander. So much does he care for honourable conduct even towards enemies."

Now Oxyartes when he learnt that his daughters were captives, and also that Alexander cared for his

μέλει αὐτῆς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, θαρσήσας ἀφίκετο παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ ἦν ἐν τιμῇ παρ' αὐτῷ, ἧπερ εἰκὸς ἐπὶ ξυντυχίᾳ τοιαύτῃ.

XXI. Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ὡς τὰ ἐν Σογδιανοῖς αὐτῷ διεπέπρακτο, ἐχομένης ἤδη καὶ τῆς πέτρας ἐς Παρειτάκας[1] προὐχώρει, ὅτι καὶ ἐν Παρειτάκαις χωρίον τι ὀχυρόν, ἄλλην πέτραν, κατέχειν ἐλέγοντο πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων. Ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ αὕτη Χοριήνου ἡ πέτρα· καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν αὐτός τε ὁ Χοριήνης ξυμπεφεύγει καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ὑπάρχων
2 οὐκ ὀλίγοι. Ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν ὕψος τῆς πέτρας ἐς σταδίους εἴκοσι, κύκλος δὲ ἐς ἑξήκοντα· αὐτὴ δὲ ἀπότομος πάντοθεν, ἄνοδος δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν μία καὶ αὕτη στενή τε καὶ οὐκ εὔπορος, οἷα δὴ παρὰ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ χωρίου πεποιημένη, ὡς χαλεπὴ εἶναι καὶ μηδενὸς εἴργοντος καὶ καθ' ἕνα ἀνελθεῖν. Φάραγξ δὲ κύκλῳ περιείργει τὴν πέτραν βαθεῖα, ὥστε ὅστις προσάξειν στρατιὰν τῇ πέτρᾳ ἔμελλε, πολὺ πρόσθεν αὐτῷ τὴν φάραγγα εἶναι χωστέον, ὡς ἐξ ὁμαλοῦ ὁρμᾶσθαι προσάγοντα ἐς προσβολὴν τὸν στρατόν.

3 Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὣς Ἀλέξανδρος ἥπτετο τοῦ ἔργου· οὕτω πάντα ᾤετο χρῆναι βατά τε αὑτῷ καὶ ἐξαιρετέα εἶναι, ἐς τοσόνδε τόλμης τε καὶ εὐτυχίας προκεχωρήκει. Τέμνων δὴ τὰς ἐλάτας (πολλαὶ γὰρ καὶ ὑπερύψηλοι ἐλάται ἦσαν ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦ ὄρους) κλίμακας ἐκ τούτων ἐποίει, ὡς κάθοδον εἶναι ἐς τὴν φάραγγα τῇ στρατιᾷ· οὐ γὰρ ἦν
4 ἄλλως κατελθεῖν ἐς αὐτήν. Καὶ τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐφειστήκει τῷ ἔργῳ, τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἔχων ἐργαζόμενον· τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἐν

[1] Παρειτάκας A. Not the same as Παραιτάκαι IV. 22. 1.

daughter Roxane, took courage and came to Alexander and was held in honour by him, as was meet, after this happy event.

XXI. After completing his work in Sogdiana, and being now in possession of the rock, Alexander advanced to the Pareitacae, since many of the tribesmen were reported to be holding a strong place in the country of the Pareitacae, another rock, called the Rock of Chorienes; and Chorienes himself and many others of the authorities of the country had taken refuge there. The height of this rock was about twenty stades, its circuit, some sixty; it was sheer on all sides, and there was only one way up to it, and this narrow and difficult, made as it was despite the nature of the ground, so that it was difficult, even if no one prevented, to ascend even in single file. A deep ravine also protects the rock all round, so that anyone desiring to bring up an army against the rock would be obliged beforehand to do much filling up of the ravine, so that he might start from level ground when bringing up his force to the assault.

Undeterred, however, Alexander took the work in hand; so confident was he that everything should be accessible to him, and that everything could be captured; and to such a height of boldness and success had he reached. Felling the pines, therefore (there were many tall pines all round about the hill), he made ladders of them, so that the army might be able to descend into the ravine, for there was no other means of descent. During the days Alexander himself superintended the operations, keeping half his army at work; during the nights his bodyguards worked

μέρει οἱ σωματοφύλακες αὐτῷ εἰργάζοντο Περ-
δίκκας τε καὶ Λεοννάτος καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου
τῷ λοιπῷ μέρει τῆς στρατιᾶς, τριχῇ διανενεμημένῳ
ὅπερ αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν νύκτα ἐπετέτακτο. Ἤνυτον δὲ
τῆς ἡμέρας οὐ πλέον ἤπερ εἴκοσι πήχεις καὶ τῆς
νυκτὸς ὀλίγον ἀποδέον, καίτοι ξυμπάσης τῆς
στρατιᾶς ἐργαζομένης· οὕτω τό τε χωρίον ἄπορον
5 *ἦν καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐν αὐτῷ χαλεπόν. Κατιόντες*
δ' ἐς τὴν φάραγγα πασσάλους κατεπήγνυον ἐς
τὸ ὀξύτατον τῆς φάραγγος, διέχοντας ἀλλήλων
ὅσον ξύμμετρον πρὸς ἰσχύν τε καὶ ξυνοχὴν τῶν
ἐπιβαλλομένων. Ἐπέβαλλον δὲ πλέγματα ἐκ
λύγων εἰς γεφύρας μάλιστα ἰδέαν, καὶ ταῦτα
ξυνδοῦντες χοῦν ἄνωθεν ἐπεφόρουν, ὡς ἐξ ὁμαλοῦ
γίγνεσθαι τῇ στρατιᾷ τὴν πρόσοδον τὴν πρὸς τὴν
πέτραν.

6 *Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὰ μὲν πρῶτα κατεφρόνουν*
ὡς ἀπόρου πάντῃ τοῦ ἐγχειρήματος· ὡς δὲ τοξεύ-
ματα ἤδη ἐς τὴν πέτραν ἐξικνοῦντο καὶ αὐτοὶ
ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν ἄνωθεν ἐξείργειν τοὺς Μακεδόνας
(πεποίητο γὰρ αὐτοῖς προκαλύμματα πρὸς τὰ
βέλη, ὡς ὑπ' αὐτοῖς ἀβλαβῶς ἐργάζεσθαι),
ἐκπλαγεὶς ὁ Χοριήνης πρὸς τὰ γιγνόμενα κήρυκα
πέμπει πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, δεόμενος Ὀξυάρτην οἱ
ἀναπέμψαι· καὶ πέμπει Ὀξυάρτην Ἀλέξανδρος.
7 *Ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος πείθει Χοριήνην ἐπιτρέψαι Ἀλεξ-*
άνδρῳ αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸ χωρίον. Βίᾳ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν
ὅ τι οὐχ ἁλωτὸν εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ
τῇ ἐκείνου· ἐς πίστιν δὲ ἐλθόντος καὶ φιλίαν, τὴν
πίστιν τε καὶ δικαιότητα μεγαλωστὶ ἐπῄνει τοῦ

in relays, Perdiccas and Leonnatus and Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, with the rest of the army, divided into three sections, as Alexander had commanded, for the night work. By day-time they could not accomplish a distance of more than twenty cubits, at night rather less, even though all the army was at work; so difficult was the ground, and so hard the work there. First descending into the ravine they fixed stakes into the narrowest part of the ravine; the stakes being just as far apart from one another as was proper to give the necessary strength and to bear safely the load piled upon them. They then fixed upon the stakes hurdles of willow and osiers in bridge fashion; then binding these closely together they heaped earth upon them, so that the approach for the troops to the rock might be on the level.[1]

At first the tribesmen laughed at these attempts as if quite hopeless; but when at length arrows began to find the range of the rock and they proved unable from above to dislodge the Macedonians who had made screens against the missiles, so that they worked beneath them unharmed, Chorienes was aghast at the achievement and sent a herald to Alexander begging him to send Oxyartes to him; and Alexander did so. And when Oxyartes came he tried to persuade Chorienes to surrender himself and his stronghold to Alexander. For nothing, he said, could not be taken by force by Alexander and his army; if, however, Chorienes should make terms of good faith and friendship with Alexander, he was able to commend highly the good faith and justice of the

[1] See Appendix.

βασιλέως, τά τ' ἄλλα καὶ τὸ αὑτοῦ ἐν πρώτοις
8 *ἐς βεβαίωσιν τοῦ λόγου προφέρων.* Τούτοις
*πεισθεὶς ὁ Χοριήνης αὐτός τε ἧκε παρ' Ἀλέξ-
ανδρον καὶ τῶν οἰκείων τινὲς καὶ ἑταίρων αὐτοῦ.*
Ἐλθόντι δὲ Χοριήνῃ φιλάνθρωπά τε ἀποκρινά-
*μενος καὶ πίστιν ἐς φιλίαν δοὺς αὐτὸν μὲν κατέχει,
πέμψαι δὲ κελεύει τῶν συγκατελθόντων τινὰς
αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν πέτραν τοὺς κελεύσοντας ἐνδοῦναι*
9 *τὸ χωρίον.* Καὶ *ἐνδίδοται ὑπὸ τῶν ξυμπεφευ-
γότων, ὥστε καὶ αὐτὸς* Ἀλέξανδρος *ἀναλαβὼν
τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἐς πεντακοσίους ἀνέβη κατὰ
θέαν τῆς πέτρας, καὶ τοσούτου ἐδέησεν ἀνεπιεικές
τι ἐς τὸν* Χοριήνην *ἔργον ἀποδείξασθαι, ὥστε καὶ
αὐτὸ τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνο ἐπιτρέπει* Χοριήνῃ *καὶ
ὕπαρχον εἶναι ὅσωνπερ καὶ πρόσθεν ἔδωκε.*
10 *Ξυνέβη δὲ χειμῶνί τε κακοπαθῆσαι αὐτῷ τὴν
στρατιάν, πολλῆς χιόνος ἐπιπεσούσης ἐν τῇ
πολιορκίᾳ, καὶ ἅμα ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων
ἐπιέσθησαν.* Ἀλλὰ Χοριήνης *ἐς δίμηνον σιτία
ἔφη δώσειν τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ ἔδωκε σῖτόν τε καὶ
οἶνον τῶν ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ ἀποθέτων κρέα τε ταρι-
χηρὰ κατὰ σκηνήν.* Καὶ *ταῦτα δοὺς οὐκ ἔφασκεν
ἀναλῶσαι τῶν παρεσκευασμένων ἐς τὴν πολιορ-
κίαν οὐδὲ τὴν δεκάτην μοῖραν.* Ἔνθεν *ἐν τιμῇ
μᾶλλον τῷ* Ἀλεξάνδρῳ *ἦν ὡς οὐ πρὸς βίαν
μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ γνώμην ἐνδοὺς τὴν πέτραν.*

XXII. Ταῦτα *δὲ καταπραξάμενος* Ἀλέξανδρος
αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς Βάκτρα *ᾔει·* Κράτερον *δὲ τῶν
ἱππέων ἑταίρων ἔχοντα ἑξακοσίους καὶ τῶν
πεζῶν τήν τε αὑτοῦ τάξιν καὶ τὴν* Πολυσπέρ-
χοντος καὶ Ἀττάλου *καὶ τὴν* Ἀλκέτα *ἐπὶ*
Κατάνην *τε καὶ* Αὐστάνην *ἐκπέμπει, οἳ δὴ μόνοι*

King, giving many examples, but chiefly adducing his own treatment in proof of his argument. Chorienes was overborne by these arguments, and himself came to Alexander with some of his kinsfolk and friends. And when Chorienes arrived Alexander replied to him courteously and gave him assurance of his friendship, retaining Chorienes himself, but bidding him send some of those who came down with him to the rock, to order the stronghold to be given up. And given up it was by the refugees, so that Alexander himself actually took five hundred of the bodyguard and ascended to see the rock; and so far from showing any unkindness to Chorienes, he actually entrusted the stronghold to him and made him governor of the district he had previously administered.

The army, as it happened, had suffered much in the winter, a great deal of snow having fallen during the siege; and also they were distressed by want of provisions. But Chorienes said he would give two months' supplies for the army, and gave them corn and wine from the stores in the rock, and distributed dried meat among the tents. Even after all these gifts he said he had not expended a tithe of what they had prepared for the siege. Alexander therefore regarded him with the greater respect, since he had given up the stronghold not so much perforce as from good-will.

XXII. After this achievement Alexander himself marched towards Bactria; but he sent Craterus, with six hundred of the Companions' cavalry and of the infantry his own brigade, that of Polysperchon and Attalus, and that of Alcetas, against Catanes and Austanes, who alone were left of those who had

ἔτι ὑπελείποντο ἐν τῇ Παρειτακηνῶν χώρᾳ
2 ἀφεστηκότες. Καὶ μάχης γενομένης πρὸς αὐτοὺς καρτερᾶς, νικῶσιν οἱ ἀμφὶ Κράτερον τῇ μάχῃ· καὶ Κατάνης μὲν ἀποθνήσκει αὐτοῦ μαχόμενος, Αὐστάνης δὲ ξυλληφθεὶς ἀνήχθη παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον· τῶν δὲ ξὺν αὐτοῖς βαρβάρων ἱππεῖς μὲν ἀπέθανον ἐς ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι, πεζοὶ δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς χιλίους πεντακοσίους. Ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ἐπράχθη τοῖς ἀμφὶ Κράτερον, καὶ οὗτοι ἐς Βάκτρα ᾔεσαν. Καὶ ἐν Βάκτροις τὸ ἀμφὶ Καλλισθένην τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας πάθημα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ξυνηνέχθη.
3 Ἐκ Βάκτρων δὲ ἐξήκοντος ἤδη τοῦ ἦρος ἀναλαβὼν τὴν στρατιὰν προὐχώρει ὡς ἐπ' Ἰνδούς, Ἀμύνταν ἀπολιπὼν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Βακτρίων καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ ἱππέας μὲν τρισχιλίους
4 καὶ πεντακοσίους, πεζοὺς δὲ μυρίους. Ὑπερβαλὼν δὲ τὸν Καύκασον ἐν δέκα ἡμέραις ἀφίκετο ἐς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πόλιν, τὴν κτισθεῖσαν ἐν Παραπαμισάδαις ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ἐπὶ Βάκτρων ἐστέλλετο. Καὶ τὸν μὲν ὕπαρχον, ὅστις αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως τότε ἐτάχθη, παραλύει τῆς ἀρχῆς,
5 ὅτι οὐ καλῶς ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἔδοξε. Προσκατοικίσας δὲ καὶ ἄλλους τῶν περιοίκων τε καὶ ὅσοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπόμαχοι ἦσαν ἐς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, Νικάνορα μέν, ἕνα τῶν ἑταίρων, τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν κοσμεῖν ἐκέλευσε· σατράπην δὲ Τυριάσπην κατέστησε τῆς τε χώρας τῆς Παραπαμισαδῶν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸν Κωφῆνα ποταμόν.
6 Ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐς Νίκαιαν πόλιν καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ θύσας προὐχώρει ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Κωφῆνα, προπέμψας κήρυκα ὡς Ταξίλην τε καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ, κελεύσας ἀπαντᾶν ὅπως ἂν

rebelled in the territory of the Pareitacae. There was a severe battle fought against them; but Craterus' troops won the day; Catanes perished on the field, but Austanes was captured and taken before Alexander; of the tribesmen who fought under him, up to a hundred and twenty perished, and of infantry about fifteen hundred. And when Craterus' force had accomplished this, they too marched towards Bactria, where it was that the plot of Callisthenes and the squires against Alexander took place.

From Bactria, now that spring was ending, Alexander took his force and marched towards India, leaving Amyntas behind in Bactria and with him three thousand and five hundred cavalry and ten thousand infantry. Crossing the Caucasus,[1] in ten days he arrived at the city of Alexandreia, which he had founded in the district of the Parapamisadae during his first expedition into Bactria. The governor whom he had set over the city then, he now dismissed from his office, as he appeared to have proved an inefficient ruler. He then settled in Alexandreia more settlers from the neighbourhood and of the troops also such as were past fighting, and ordered Nicanor, one of the Companions, to take charge of the city itself; and as satrap he appointed Turiaspes, both of the country of the Parapamisadae and of the rest as far as to the river Cophen. Then reaching Nicaea and after sacrificing to Athena he advanced towards the Cophen, sending a herald in advance to Taxiles and the Indians this side of the river Indus; bidding them meet him, each at their earliest con-

[1] As before, the Hindu-Koosh; also called the Parapamisus.

ἑκάστοις προχωρῇ. Καὶ Ταξίλης τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὕπαρχοι ἀπήντων, δῶρα τὰ μέγιστα παρ' Ἰνδοῖς νομιζόμενα κομίζοντες, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας δώσειν ἔφασκον τοὺς παρὰ σφίσιν ὄντας, ἀριθμὸν ἐς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν.

7 Ἔνθα δὴ διελὼν τὴν στρατιὰν Ἡφαιστίωνα μὲν καὶ Περδίκκαν ἐκπέμπει ἐς τὴν Πευκελαῶτιν χώραν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμόν, ἔχοντας τήν τε Γοργίου τάξιν καὶ Κλείτου καὶ Μελεάγρου καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων ἱππέων τοὺς ἡμίσεας καὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἱππέας ξύμπαντας, προστάξας τά τε κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν χωρία ἢ βίᾳ ἐξαιρεῖν ἢ ὁμολογίᾳ παρίστασθαι· καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν ἀφικομένους παρασκευάζειν ὅσα ἐς τὴν διάβασιν
8 τοῦ ποταμοῦ ξύμφορα. Σὺν τούτοις δὲ καὶ Ταξίλης καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὕπαρχοι στέλλονται. Καὶ οὗτοι ὡς ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμόν, ἔπρασσον ὅσα ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἦν τεταγμένα. Ἄστης δὲ ὁ τῆς Πευκελαώτιδος χώρας ὕπαρχος νεωτερίσας αὐτός τε ἀπόλλυται καὶ τὴν πόλιν προσαπώλεσεν ἐς ἥντινα ξυμπεφεύγει. Ἐξεῖλον γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐν τριάκοντα ἡμέραις προσκαθήμενοι οἱ ξὺν Ἡφαιστίωνι. Καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν Ἄστης ἀποθνήσκει, τῆς πόλεως δὲ ἐτάχθη ἐπιμελεῖσθαι Σαγγαῖος, ὃς ἔτι πρόσθεν πεφευγὼς Ἄστην παρὰ Ταξίλην ηὐτομολήκει· καὶ τοῦτο ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ πιστὸν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον.

XXIII. Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ἄγων τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων ἱππέων ὅσοι μὴ σὺν Ἡφαιστίωνι ἐτετάχατο καὶ τῶν πεζεταίρων[1] καλουμένων τὰς τάξεις καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας

[1] ἀσθεταίρων A. See II. 23. 2, V. 22. 6.

venience; Taxiles and the others did come to meet him, bringing such gifts as the Indians most prize, and they promised to give Alexander the elephants they had with them, five-and-twenty in number.

Here he divided his army, and sent Hephaestion and Perdiccas to the territory of Peucelaotis towards the river Indus, with the brigade of Gorgias and of Cleitus and of Meleager and half of the Companions' cavalry and all the mercenary cavalry; bidding them either to take by storm, or to receive in surrender, all towns on their march; then, when they had reached the Indus, to get everything ready for the crossing of the river. Taxiles and the other authorities were sent with them. They duly arrived at the river Indus and carried out Alexander's commands. But Astes the governor of the district Peucelaotis attempted revolt, and was himself put to death, while he involved in his fate the city also to which he had fled for refuge. For Hephaestion and his troops besieged it for thirty days and captured it. Astes himself having been put to death, Sangaeus was appointed to govern the city; he had previously escaped from Astes and had gone over to Taxiles; this guaranteed his good faith with Alexander.

XXIII. But Alexander, taking the bodyguard and such of the Companions' cavalry as had not been detailed with Hephaestion and the brigades of the Companions' infantry, as it is called, with the archers,

καὶ τοὺς ἱππακοντιστάς, προὐχώρει ἐς τὴν Ἀσπασίων τε καὶ Γουραίων χώραν καὶ Ἀσσα-
2 *κηνῶν. Πορευθεὶς δὲ παρὰ τὸν Χόην καλούμενον ποταμὸν ὀρεινήν τε ὁδὸν καὶ τραχεῖαν, καὶ τοῦτον διαβὰς χαλεπῶς, τὸ μὲν πεζῶν πλῆθος βάδην ἕπεσθαί οἱ ἐκέλευσεν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς ἱππέας ξύμπαντας καὶ τῶν πεζῶν τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐς ὀκτακοσίους ἐπιβιβάσας τῶν ἵππων ξὺν ταῖς ἀσπίσι ταῖς πεζικαῖς σπουδῇ ἦγεν, ὅτι τοὺς ταύτῃ οἰκοῦντας βαρβάρους ξυμπεφευγέναι ἔς τε τὰ ὄρη τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐξηγγέλλετο αὐτῷ καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις ὅσαι ὀχυραὶ*
3 *αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ ἀπομάχεσθαι. Καὶ τούτων τῇ πρώτῃ καθ' ὁδὸν πόλει ᾠκισμένῃ προσβαλὼν τοὺς μὲν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τεταγμένους ὡς εἶχεν ἐξ ἐφόδου ἐτρέψατο καὶ κατέκλεισεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, αὐτὸς δὲ τιτρώσκεται βέλει διὰ τοῦ θώρακος ἐς τὸν ὦμον. Τὸ δὲ τραῦμα οὐ χαλεπὸν αὐτῷ ἐγένετο· ὁ γὰρ θώραξ ἔσχε τὸ μὴ οὐ διαμπὰξ διὰ τοῦ ὤμου ἐλθεῖν τὸ βέλος· καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου ἐτρώθη καὶ Λεοννάτος.*

4 *Τότε μὲν δὴ ἵνα ἐπιμαχώτατον τοῦ τείχους ἐφαίνετο ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο πρὸς τῇ πόλει· τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω, διπλοῦν γὰρ τεῖχος περιβέβλητο τῇ πόλει, ἐς μὲν τὸ πρῶτον, ἅτε οὐκ ἀκριβῶς τετειχισμένον, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐβιάσαντο οἱ Μακεδόνες· πρὸς δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ ὀλίγον ἀντισχόντες οἱ βάρβαροι, ὡς αἵ τε κλίμακες προσέκειντο ἤδη καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν βελῶν πάντοθεν ἐτιτρώσκοντο οἱ προμαχόμενοι, οὐκ ἔμειναν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰς πύλας ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη ἐκπίπτουσιν ἐκ*
5 *τῆς πόλεως. Καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ*

the Agrianes, and the mounted javelin-men, advanced to the district of the Aspasians, Guraeans and Assacenians. Marching along the river Choes by a mountainous and rough route, and crossing the river with some difficulty, he bade the infantry force to follow him at normal pace; but himself taking all the cavalry and up to eight hundred of the Macedonian foot-soldiers, whom he mounted, with their infantry shields, marched at full speed, having learnt that the tribesmen in this direction had fled for refuge to the hills of the district and to the cities which were strong for the purpose of defence. The first of these cities which lay on his route he assaulted, and without any special effort drove back the advance guards of the city, and shut them up in the city; but he himself received a wound by an arrow through his breastplate in his shoulder. The wound, however, was not a serious one, for the breastplate prevented the dart passing through his shoulder; Ptolemaeus son of Lagus also was wounded, and Leonnatus.

On this Alexander placed his camp by the city where the wall appeared easiest to assault; and next day about dawn, there being a double wall about the city, the Macedonians easily forced their way through the first, as it had not been carefully built; but at the second wall the tribesmen made a short stand, and yet when the ladders were now put up and the advance posts were being wounded on this side and on that by the missiles, they did not stand their ground, but dashed out of the city by the gates in the direction of the hills. Of them some perished in

ἀποθνήσκουσιν· ὅσους δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβον αὐρῶν, ξύμπαντας ἀποκτείνουσιν οἱ Μακεδόνες, ὅτι ἐτρώθη ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἀλέξανδρος ὀργιζόμενοι. οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ ἐς τὰ ὄρη, ὅτι οὐ μακρὰν τῆς πόλεως τὰ ὄρη ἦν, ἀπέφυγον. Τὴν πόλιν δὲ κατασκάψας ἐς Ἄνδακα ἄλλην πόλιν ἦγε. Ταύτην δὲ ὁμολογίᾳ ἐνδοθεῖσαν κατασχὼν Κράτερον μὲν ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγεμόσι τῶν πεζῶν καταλείπει αὐτοῦ ἐξαιρεῖν ὅσαι ἂν ἄλλαι πόλεις μὴ ἑκοῦσαι προσχωρῶσι καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ὅπως ξυμφορώτατον ἐς τὰ παρόντα κοσμεῖν.

XXIV. Αὐτὸς δέ, ἄγων τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τὴν Κοίνου τε καὶ Ἀττάλου τάξιν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τὸ ἄγημα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἑταίρων ἐς τέσσαρας μάλιστα ἱππαρχίας καὶ τῶν ἱπποτοξοτῶν τοὺς ἡμίσεας, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Εὐάσπλα[1] προυχώρει, ἵνα ὁ τῶν Ἀσπασίων ὕπαρχος ἦν· καὶ διελθὼν πολλὴν ὁδὸν δευτεραῖος ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν.

2 Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι προσάγοντα αἰσθόμενοι Ἀλέξανδρον ἐμπρήσαντες τὴν πόλιν ἔφευγον πρὸς τὰ ὄρη. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον εἵποντο τῶν φευγόντων ἔστε ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη, καὶ φόνος πολὺς γίγνεται τῶν βαρβάρων, πρὶν ἐς τὰς δυσχωρίας φθάσαι ἀπελθόντας.

3 Τὸν δὲ ἡγεμόνα αὐτὸν τῶν ταύτῃ Ἰνδῶν Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου πρός τινι ἤδη γηλόφῳ ὄντα κατιδὼν καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἔστιν οὓς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ξὺν πολὺ ἐλάττοσιν αὐτὸς ὢν ὅμως ἐδίωκεν ἔτι ἐκ τοῦ ἵππου· ὡς δὲ χαλεπὸς ὁ γήλοφος τῷ ἵππῳ ἀναδραμεῖν ἦν, τοῦτον μὲν αὐτοῦ κατα-

[1] A εὐασπόλεως.

the escape; and the Macedonians slew all they captured alive, angry that Alexander had been wounded by them; the greater number, however, escaped to the hills, which were not far from the city. Alexander, razing the city to the ground, went on to another city, Andaca. This he received in surrender, and left Craterus with the other infantry officers to destroy such other cities as should not surrender of their free-will, and to put everything in order in this district as was most expedient for the present.

XXIV. Alexander himself then took the body-guard, archers, and Agrianes, with Coenus' and Attalus' brigade, and the guards' cavalry squadron and some four regiments of the other Companions and half the mounted archers, and advanced towards the river Euaspla, where was the governor of the Aspasians; and passing through a considerable stretch of territory in two days he arrived at the city. When the tribesmen, however, learnt of Alexander's approach, they fled to the mountains. But Alexander's troops followed close on the fugitives up to the mountains, and there was a great slaughter of the tribesmen, until they managed to escape into the more difficult country.

The actual leader of the Indians of this district Ptolemaeus son of Lagus saw already close to a hill, and some of his bodyguardsmen near him, though he himself had a much inferior force with him, yet continued to pursue him on horseback; but when the hill proved difficult for his horse to ascend he left it there,

λείπει, παραδούς τινι τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἄγειν·
4 αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς εἶχε πεζὸς τῷ Ἰνδῷ εἵπετο. Ὁ δὲ ὡς πελάζοντα ἤδη κατεῖδε τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, αὐτός τε μεταβάλλει ἐς τοὔμπαλιν καὶ οἱ ὑπασπισταὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἰνδὸς τοῦ Πτολεμαίου διὰ τοῦ θώρακος παίει ἐκ χειρὸς ἐς τὸ στῆθος ξυστῷ μακρῷ, καὶ ὁ θώραξ ἔσχε τὴν πληγήν· Πτολεμαῖος δὲ τὸν μηρὸν διαμπὰξ βαλὼν τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ καταβάλλει τε καὶ σκυλεύει
5 αὐτόν. Ὡς δὲ τὸν ἡγεμόνα σφῶν κείμενον οἱ ἀμφ᾽ αὐτὸν εἶδον, οὗτοι μὲν οὐκέτι ἔμενον· οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν αἰρόμενον τὸν νεκρὸν τοῦ ὑπάρχου ἰδόντες πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων, ἤλγησάν τε καὶ καταδραμόντες ξυνάπτουσιν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ μάχην καρτερὰν πρὸς τῷ γηλόφῳ. Ἤδη γὰρ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔχων τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων καταβεβηκότας πεζοὺς πρὸς τῷ γηλόφῳ ἦν. Καὶ οὗτοι ἐπιγενόμενοι μόγις ἐξέωσαν τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἐς τὰ ὄρη καὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ ἐκράτησαν.

6 Ὑπερβαλὼν δὲ τὰ ὄρη Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς πόλιν κατῆλθεν ᾗ ὄνομα ἦν Ἀριγαῖον· καὶ ταύτην καταλαμβάνει ἐμπεπρησμένην ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνοικούντων καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πεφευγότας. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀφίκοντο αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Κράτερον ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ, πεπραγμένων σφίσι ξυμπάντων
7 ὅσα ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐτέτακτο. Ταύτην μὲν δὴ τὴν πόλιν, ὅτι ἐν ἐπικαίρῳ χωρίῳ ἐδόκει ᾠκίσθαι, ἐκτειχίσαι τε προστάσσει Κρατέρῳ καὶ ξυνοικίσαι ἐς αὐτὴν τούς τε προσχώρους ὅσοι ἐθελονταὶ καὶ εἰ δή τινες ἀπόμαχοι τῆς στρατιᾶς. Αὐτὸς δὲ προὐχώρει ἵνα ξυμπεφευγέναι ἐπυνθάνετο τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβάρων. Ἐλθὼν

handing it to one of the guards to lead; but he himself, on foot as he was, followed hard upon the Indian. He then, seeing Ptolemaeus drawing near, himself turned round to bay, and his guards with him; and the Indian with his long spear struck at close quarters through Ptolemaeus' corselet to his breast, the corslet checking the blow; but Ptolemaeus smote right through the Indian's thigh, drove him to the ground, and despoiled him. His followers, seeing their leader lying there, no longer remained, but others from the hills seeing the enemy carrying off their governor's body, were bitterly grieved, and rushing down joined in a severe battle with them near the hill. Now Alexander, with his cavalrymen dismounted, was already near the hill. They coming to join the fray only with difficulty drove back the Indians to the mountains, and got possession of the body.

Crossing the mountains Alexander descended at a city called Arigaeus, and captured it after it had been set on fire by its inhabitants, but found the inhabitants themselves had fled. Here there met him Craterus and his men with the army, after carrying through successfully all that Alexander had commanded them. This city indeed, since it seemed to lie in a convenient position, he bade Craterus to strengthen with a wall, and settle therein the neighbouring tribesmen, as many as volunteered, and any of the army who were past fighting. He himself, however, advanced to where he had learnt that the greater part of the tribesmen of this district had

δὲ πρός τε ὄρος, κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ὑπὸ ταῖς
ὑπωρείαις τοῦ ὄρους.
8 Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου ἐκπεμφθεὶς
μὲν ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐς προνομήν, προελθὼν δὲ
προσωτέρω αὐτὸς ξὺν ὀλίγοις ὡς ἐς κατασκοπήν,
ἀπαγγέλλει Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πυρὰ κατιδεῖν τῶν
βαρβάρων πλείονα ἢ ἐν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατο-
9 πέδῳ. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος τῷ μὲν πλήθει τῶν
πυρῶν ἠπίστησεν· εἶναι δέ τι ξυνεστηκὸς τῶν
ταύτῃ βαρβάρων αἰσθόμενος, μέρος μὲν τῆς
στρατιᾶς αὐτοῦ καταλείπει πρὸς τῷ ὄρει ὡς
εἶχον ἐστρατοπεδευμένους· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν
ὅσοι ἀποχρῶντες ἐς τὰ ἀπηγγελμένα ἐφαίνοντο,
ὡς πλησίον ἤδη ἀφεώρων τὰ πυρά, τριχῇ δια-
10 νέμει τὴν στρατιάν. Καὶ τῷ μὲν ἑνὶ ἐπέταξε
Λεοννάτον τὸν σωματοφύλακα, ξυντάξας αὐτῷ
τήν τε Ἀττάλου καὶ τὴν Βαλάκρου τάξιν· τὴν
δευτέραν δὲ μοῖραν Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Λάγου ἄγειν
ἔδωκε, τῶν τε ὑπασπιστῶν τῶν βασιλικῶν τὸ
τρίτον μέρος καὶ τὴν Φιλίππου καὶ Φιλώτα τάξιν
καὶ δύο χιλιαρχίας τῶν τοξοτῶν καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶ-
νας καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς ἡμίσεας· τὴν δὲ τρίτην
μοῖραν αὐτὸς ἦγεν ἵνα οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν βαρβάρων
ἐφαίνοντο.

XXV. Οἱ δὲ ὡς ᾔσθοντο προσάγοντας τοὺς
Μακεδόνας, κατεῖχον γὰρ χωρία ὑπερδέξια, τῷ τε
πλήθει σφῶν θαρσήσαντες καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων,
ὅτι ὀλίγοι ἐφαίνοντο, καταφρονήσαντες, ἐς τὸ
πεδίον ὑποκατέβησαν· καὶ μάχη γίγνεται καρ-
τερά. Ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν οὐ ξὺν πόνῳ ἐνίκα
2 Ἀλέξανδρος· οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Πτολεμαῖον οὐκ ἐν τῷ
ὁμαλῷ παρετάξαντο, ἀλλὰ γήλοφον γὰρ κατεῖχον

taken refuge; and reaching a mountain he camped there at its foot.

At this same time Ptolemaeus son of Lagus whom Alexander had sent foraging, and who had advanced further ahead, himself and a few others, to scout, reported to Alexander that he had sighted fires of the tribesmen a good deal more numerous than in Alexander's own camp; yet Alexander was incredulous about the number of the fires; but perceiving that it was a device of the tribesmen of this district, he left part of his force behind encamped, as they were, and himself taking what appeared to be a sufficient force, in view of this report, when they saw the fires from close at hand, divided his men into three parts; and he set over the first part Leonnatus, member of the bodyguard, detailing for him the brigade of Attalus and that of Balacrus; and the second portion he gave to Ptolemaeus son of Lagus; namely, a third part of the royal guards and the brigade of Philip and Philotas and two regiments of archers and the Agrianes, and half the cavalry; then he himself led the third division to where the greatest number of the tribesmen appeared to be.

XXV. They, as soon as they saw the Macedonians approach, holding as they did the heights, confident in their numbers, and despising the Macedonians, as they appeared to be few, descended to the plain; a severe battle followed. Still Alexander had the mastery of them without much difficulty. Ptolemaeus' troops were drawn up not on the level; but

οἱ βάρβαροι, ὀρθίους ποιήσας τοὺς λόχους Πτολεμαῖος προσῆγεν ᾗπερ ἐπιμαχώτατον τοῦ λόφου ἐφαίνετο, οὐ πάντῃ τὸν λόφον κυκλωσάμενος, ἀλλ' ἀπολιπών, εἰ φεύγειν ἐθέλοιεν οἱ βάρβαροι,
3 χώραν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν φυγήν. Καὶ γίγνεται καὶ τούτοις μάχη καρτερά, τοῦ χωρίου τῇ χαλεπότητι καὶ ὅτι οὐ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ταύτῃ βαρβάρους οἱ Ἰνδοί, ἀλλὰ πολὺ δή τι ἀλκιμώτατοι τῶν προσχώρων εἰσίν. Ἐξώσθησαν δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων· καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Λεοννάτον τῇ τρίτῃ μοίρᾳ τῆς στρατιᾶς ὡσαύτως ἔπραξαν· ἐνίκων γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι τοὺς κατὰ σφᾶς.
4 Καὶ λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ἀνθρώπους μὲν ληφθῆναι τοὺς πάντας ὑπὲρ τετρακισμυρίους, βοῶν δὲ ὑπὲρ τὰς τρεῖς καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας· καὶ τούτων τὰς καλλίστας ἐπιλεξάμενον Ἀλέξανδρον, ὅτι διαφέρουσαι αὐτῷ κάλλει τε καὶ μεγέθει ἐφαίνοντο, πέμψαι ἐθέλειν ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν χώραν.

5 Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀσσακηνῶν χώραν ἦγεν· τούτους γὰρ ἐξηγγέλλετο παρεσκευάσθαι ὡς μαχουμένους, ἱππέας μὲν ἐς δισχιλίους ἔχοντας, πεζοὺς δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς τρισμυρίους, τριάκοντα δὲ ἐλέφαντας. Κράτερος μὲν δή, ἐκτετειχικὼς ἤδη τὴν πόλιν ἐφ' ᾗς τῷ οἰκισμῷ κατελέλειπτο, τούς τε βαρύτερον ὡπλισμένους τῆς στρατιᾶς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἦγε καὶ τὰς μηχανάς,
6 εἴ που πολιορκίας δεήσειεν. Αὐτὸς δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος, τούς τε ἑταίρους ἱππέας ἄγων καὶ τοὺς ἱππακοντιστὰς καὶ τὴν Κοίνου καὶ Πολυσπέρχοντος τάξιν καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας τοὺς χιλίους καὶ τοὺς τοξότας, ᾔει ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀσσακηνούς·

since the tribesmen held a hill, Ptolemaeus throwing his lines into columns led them up to the point where the hill seemed most open to assault, not investing the hill on all sides, but leaving a space for flight, should the tribesmen elect to escape. With these there followed a severe battle, both because of the difficulty of the position and because these Indians were not of the same kind as the rest in this district, but much the most warlike of all the neighbouring tribes. Yet even these were driven down from the mountain by the Macedonians; and Leonnatus and his troops were equally successful with the third part of the army; for they too conquered those ranged against them. And Ptolemaeus says that the total of men captured was over forty thousand, and of oxen over two hundred and thirty thousand; and of these Alexander chose out the finest, because they seemed to be of unusual beauty and size, and was anxious to send them into Macedonia to work the land.

Thence he proceeded to the territory of the Assacenians; for these were reported to have prepared for battle, with two thousand horsemen, over thirty thousand infantry, and thirty elephants. Craterus then, who had finished the walling round of the city of whose settlement he had been put in charge, took to Alexander the heavier armed troops of the army, and the siege engines, in case he had need of a siege. But Alexander himself with the Companions' cavalry and the mounted javelin-men and the brigade of Coenus and Polysperchon, the thousand Agrianes, and the archers, marched towards the Assacenians;

7 ἦγε δὲ διὰ τῆς Γουραίων χώρας. Καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν ἐπώνυμον τῆς χώρας τὸν Γουραῖον χαλεπῶς διέβη, διὰ βαθύτητά τε καὶ ὅτι ὀξὺς ὁ ῥοῦς ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ λίθοι στρογγύλοι ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ὄντες σφαλεροὶ τοῖς ἐπιβαίνουσιν ἐγίγνοντο. Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ὡς προσάγοντα ᾔσθοντο Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀθρόοι μὲν ἐς μάχην καταστῆναι οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν· διαλυθέντες δὲ ὡς ἕκαστοι κατὰ πόλιν ταύτας ἐπενόουν ἀπομαχόμενοι διασώζειν.

XXVI. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος πρῶτα μὲν ἐπὶ Μάσσαγα ἦγε, τὴν μεγίστην τῶν ταύτῃ πόλεων. Ὡς δὲ προσῆγεν ἤδη τοῖς τείχεσι, θαρρήσαντες οἱ βάρβαροι τοῖς μισθοφόροις τοῖς ἐκ τῶν πρόσω Ἰνδῶν, ἦσαν γὰρ οὗτοι ἐς ἑπτακισχιλίους, ὡς στρατοπεδευομένους εἶδον τοὺς Μακεδόνας, δρόμῳ
2 ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ᾔεσαν. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἰδὼν πλησίον τῆς πόλεως ἐσομένην τὴν μάχην, προσωτέρω ἐκκαλέσασθαι αὐτοὺς βουληθεὶς τῶν τειχῶν, ὡς εἰ τροπὴ γίγνοιτο (ἐγίγνωσκε γὰρ ἐσομένην), μὴ δι' ὀλίγου ἐς τὴν πόλιν καταφυγόντες εὐμαρῶς διασώζοιντο, ὡς ἐκθέοντας εἶδε τοὺς βαρβάρους, μεταβαλλομένους κελεύει τοὺς Μακεδόνας ὀπίσω ἀποχωρεῖν ὡς πρὸς γήλοφόν τινα, ἀπέχοντα ἀπὸ τοῦ χωρίου ἵναπερ στρατοπεδεύειν ἐγνώκει ἑπτά
3 που μάλιστα σταδίους. Καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἀναθαρσήσαντες, ὡς ἐγκεκλικότων ἤδη τῶν Μακεδόνων, δρόμῳ τε καὶ ξὺν οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἐφέροντο ἐς αὐτούς. Ὡς δὲ ἐξικνεῖτο ἤδη τὰ τοξεύματα, ἐνταῦθα Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπὸ ξυνθήματος ἐπιστρέψας ἐς αὐτοὺς τὴν φάλαγγα δρόμῳ ἀντεπῆγε. Πρῶτοι δὲ οἱ ἱππακοντισταί τε αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ Ἀγριᾶνες καὶ οἱ τοξόται ἐκδραμόντες ξυνέμιξαν τοῖς βαρ-

and he went through the country of the Guraeans. And the river Guraeus, which shares its name with the country, he crossed with difficulty, both because of its depth, and because its current was rapid, and the rounded stones in the river proved very slippery to anyone stepping on them. But the tribesmen, learning that Alexander was approaching, dared not take their stand in mass for a battle, but breaking off in parties each to their city they purposed to defend and save them.

XXVI. Alexander then marched first against Massaga, the greatest of the cities in this district. When he already was approaching the walls, the tribesmen, relying on mercenary Indians brought from further India, about seven thousand men, as soon as they saw the Macedonians pitching camp, charged into them at the double. So Alexander seeing that the battle would be near the city, being anxious to draw them out further from their walls, so that if a rout took place (and he was sure it would) they should not have their city close at hand for refuge and so come off safe; as soon as he saw the tribesmen sallying out, bade the Macedonians turn right-about and withdraw towards a hill, about seven stades away from the site on which he had decided to camp. So the enemy, plucking up courage, thinking that the Macedonians had already given way, rushed upon them at full speed and in disorder. But when the arrows were just reaching his troops, then Alexander by signal turned his phalanx towards them and led it on at the double. First the mounted javelin-men, the Agrianes, and the archers dashed forward and attacked the tribesmen; but Alexander

βάροις· αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν φάλαγγα ἐν τάξει ἦγεν.
4 Οἱ δὲ Ἰνδοὶ τῷ τε παραλόγῳ ἐκπλαγέντες καὶ ἅμα ἐν χερσὶ γεγενημένης τῆς μάχης, ἐγκλίναντες ἔφευγον ἐς τὴν πόλιν. Καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν αὐτῶν ἀμφὶ τοὺς διακοσίους, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐς τὰ τείχη κατεκλείσθησαν. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος προσῆγε τῷ τείχει τὴν φάλαγγα, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν τοξεύεται μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐς τὸ σφυρὸν οὐ χαλεπῶς.
5 Ἐπαγαγὼν δὲ τὰς μηχανὰς τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τῶν μὲν τειχῶν τι εὐμαρῶς κατέσεισε· βιαζομένους δὲ ταύτῃ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ᾗ παρέρρηκτο τοῦ τείχους οὐκ ἀτόλμως οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἠμύνοντο, ὥστε ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀνεκαλέσατο τὴν στρατιάν. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ τῶν τε Μακεδόνων αὐτῶν ἡ προσβολὴ καρτερωτέρα ἐγένετο, καὶ πύργος ἐπήχθη ξύλινος τοῖς τείχεσιν, ὅθεν ἐκτοξεύσαντες οἱ τοξόται καὶ βέλη ἀπὸ μηχανῶν ἀφιέμενα ἀνέστελλον ἐπὶ πολὺ τοὺς Ἰνδούς. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὣς βιάσασθαι εἴσω τοῦ τείχους οἷοί τε ἐγένοντο.

6 Τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ προσαγαγὼν αὖθις τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ ἀπὸ μηχανῆς γέφυραν ἐπιβαλὼν τοῦ τείχους ᾗ παρερρωγὸς ἦν, ταύτῃ ἐπῆγε τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς, οἵπερ αὐτῷ καὶ Τύρον ὡσαύτως ἐξεῖλον. Πολλῶν δὲ ὑπὸ προθυμίας ὠθουμένων, ἄχθος λαβοῦσα μεῖζον ἡ γέφυρα κατερράγη καὶ πίπτουσι ξὺν
7 αὐτῇ οἱ Μακεδόνες. Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἰδόντες τὸ γιγνόμενον λίθοις τε ξὺν βοῇ ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν καὶ τοξεύμασι καὶ ἄλλῳ ὅτῳ τις μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχων ἐτύγχανεν ἢ ὅτῳ τις ἐν τῷ τότε ἔλαβεν ἐξηκόντιζον ἐς τοὺς Μακεδόνας· οἱ δὲ καὶ κατὰ θύρας, αἵτινες αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὰ μεσοπύργια μικραὶ ἦσαν, ἐκθέοντες ἐκ χειρὸς ἔπαιον τεταραγμένους.

himself led on his phalanx in due order. But the Indians, upset by the unexpected attack and also the battle being now hand to hand, turned and fled back to the city. Some two hundred of them perished, but the rest were shut up inside their walls. Alexander brought up his phalanx to the wall, and thence was wounded, not seriously, by an arrow from the wall on his ankle. But next day bringing up the engines he easily destroyed a part of the wall, and as the Macedonians pressed in here at the breach of the wall, the Indians bravely resisted, so that for this day Alexander recalled his troops. But next day the Macedonian attack was more efficient; and a wooden tower was brought up against the walls, from which the archers shot volleys, while from the engines they hurled missiles, and so they much repressed the Indians; but not even so could they force their way inside the wall.

But on the third day bringing up again the phalanx and throwing a bridge from an engine to the breach of the wall, over this Alexander led on his bodyguard, who had helped him in the same way to capture Tyre. Many pressed forward in eagerness, and the bridge receiving too great a weight broke, and the Macedonians fell with it. But the tribesmen seeing the occurrence, raising a shout, with stones from the walls, and arrows, and anything they had in hand, or anything they picked up, shot at the Macedonians; and others by the small gates, which they had in the spaces between the towers, broke forth and at close quarters struck at the Macedonians while in this confusion.

XXVII. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ πέμπει Ἀλκέταν ξὺν τῇ αὐτοῦ τάξει τούς τε κατατετρωμένους ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ ὅσοι προσεμάχοντο ἐπανακαλέσασθαι ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. Καὶ τῇ τετάρτῃ ὡσαύτως ἐπ᾽ ἄλλης μηχανῆς ἄλλη ἐπιβάθρα αὐτῷ προσήγετο πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος.

2 Καὶ οἱ Ἰνδοί, ἕως μὲν αὐτοῖς ὁ ἡγεμὼν τοῦ χωρίου περιῆν, ἀπεμάχοντο καρτερῶς· ὡς δὲ βέλει ἀπὸ μηχανῆς τυπεὶς ἀποθνήσκει ἐκεῖνος, αὐτῶν τε οἱ μέν τινες πεπτωκότες ἐν τῇ ξυνεχεῖ πολιορκίᾳ, οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ τραυματίαι τε καὶ ἀπόμαχοι ἦσαν, ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον.
3 Τῷ δὲ ἀσμένῳ γίνεται ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς διασῶσαι· καὶ ξυμβαίνει ἐπὶ τῷδε Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖς μισθοφόροις Ἰνδοῖς ὡς καταταχθέντας ἐς τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν ξὺν αὐτῷ στρατεύεσθαι. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐξῆλθον ξὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις, καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσαν κατὰ σφᾶς ἐπὶ γηλόφῳ ὃς ἦν ἀντίπορος τοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων στρατοπέδου. Νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπενόουν δρασμῷ διαχρησάμενοι ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἤθη ἀπαναστῆναι, οὐκ ἐθέλοντες ἐναντία αἴρεσθαι
4 τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἰνδοῖς ὅπλα. Καὶ ταῦτα ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, περιστήσας τῆς νυκτὸς τῷ γηλόφῳ τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν, κατακόπτει τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἐν μέσῳ ἀπολαβών, τήν τε πόλιν αἱρεῖ κατὰ κράτος, ἐρημωθεῖσαν τῶν προμαχομένων, καὶ τὴν μητέρα τὴν Ἀσσακηνοῦ καὶ τὴν παῖδα ἔλαβεν. Ἀπέθανον δὲ ἐν τῇ πάσῃ πολιορκίᾳ τῶν ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν.

5 Ἔνθεν δὲ Κοῖνον μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ Βάζιρα ἐκπέμπει, γνώμην ποιησάμενος ὅτι μαθόντες τῶν Μασσάγων τὴν ἅλωσιν ἐνδώσουσι σφᾶς αὐτούς. Ἄττα-

XXVII. Alexander now sent Alcetas with his brigade, both to pick up the wounded and to recall to the camp any who were still engaged; and the fourth day similarly from another engine another bridge was brought up to the wall.

The Indians, as long as their chief survived, resisted stoutly; but as soon as he was hit by a missile from a catapult, and killed, they, with part of their number already fallen in the close siege, and part now wounded and unfit for service, sent to Alexander to ask for a truce. He was glad enough to be able to preserve such valiant men; and it was here that Alexander agreed with his mercenary Indians to join the rest of his army and take the field with him. They passed out with their arms, and encamped by themselves on a hill, which lay facing the Macedonian camp; and they intended, at night, to slip away and escape to their own tribes, not being desirous of taking up arms against the rest of the Indians. When this was reported to Alexander he threw his whole force during night-time round the hill, and cut down the Indians whom he had thus enclosed; their city he captured by assault, deprived as it was of its chief defenders, and took there also Assacenus' mother and daughter. In the entire siege there perished some twenty-five of Alexander's men.

Thence he sent Coenus to Bazira, considering that on learning of the capture of Massaga they would

λον δὲ καὶ Ἀλκέταν καὶ Δημήτριον τὸν ἱππάρχην ἐπὶ Ὧρα στέλλει, ἄλλην πόλιν, παραγγείλας περιτειχίζειν τὴν πόλιν ἔστ' ἂν ἀφίκηται
6 αὐτός. Καὶ γίγνεται ἐκδρομὴ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ἀλκέταν. Οὐ χαλεπῶς δὲ τρεψάμενοι αὐτοὺς οἱ Μακεδόνες εἴσω τοῦ τείχους ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀποστρέφουσι. Καὶ Κοίνῳ οὐ προχωρεῖ τὰ ἐν τοῖς Βαζίροις, ἀλλὰ πιστεύοντες γὰρ τοῦ χωρίου τῇ ὀχυρότητι, ὅτι ὑπερύψηλόν τε ἦν καὶ πάντῃ ἀκριβῶς τετειχισμένον, οὐδὲν ξυμβατικὸν ἐνεδίδοσαν.

7 Ταῦτα μαθὼν Ἀλέξανδρος ὥρμητο μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ Βάζιρα· γνοὺς δὲ ὅτι τῶν προσοίκων τινὲς βαρβάρων παριέναι ἐς τὰ Ὧρα τὴν πόλιν λαθόντες μέλλουσι, πρὸς Ἀβισάρου ἐπὶ τῷδε ἐσταλμένοι, ἐπὶ τὰ Ὧρα πρῶτον ἦγε· Κοῖνον δὲ ἐπιτειχίσαι τῇ πόλει τῶν Βαζίρων καρτερόν τι χωρίον προσέταξε, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ φυλακὴν καταλιπόντα ἀποχρῶσαν, ὡς μὴ ἄδεια εἴη τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει χρῆσθαι τῇ χώρᾳ, αὐτὸν ἄγοντα τῆς στρατιᾶς τὴν λοιπὴν παρ'
8 αὐτὸν ἰέναι. Οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν Βαζίρων ὡς εἶδον ἀπιόντα ξὺν τῷ πλείστῳ τῆς στρατιᾶς τὸν Κοῖνον, καταφρονήσαντες τῶν Μακεδόνων, ὡς οὐ γενομένων ἂν σφισιν ἀξιομάχων, ἐπεκθέουσιν ἐς τὸ πεδίον· καὶ γίγνεται αὐτῶν μάχη καρτερά. Καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ πίπτουσι μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς πεντακοσίους, ζῶντες δὲ ἐλήφθησαν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει ξυμφυγόντες βεβαιότερον ἤδη εἴργοντο τῆς χώρας ὑπὸ
9 τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιτειχίσματος. Καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ τῶν Ὥρων ἡ πολιορκία οὐ χαλεπὴ ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐφόδου προσβαλὼν τοῖς τείχεσι τῆς

surrender. But Attalus and Alcetas and Demetrius the commander of the cavalry he sent towards another city, Ora, bidding them strengthen the city with a wall during the time of his own approach. The townsmen made, however, a sally against Alcetas' forces. But the Macedonians easily repulsed them and turned them back from the wall into the city. Coenus was not successful at Bazira, but the townspeople trusting in the strength of their site, since it was very high and fortified carefully all round, showed no signs of surrendering.

Alexander on learning this started towards Bazira; but hearing that some of the neighbouring tribesmen were preparing to slip unseen into the city of Ora, for Abisarus had sent them expressly for this, he advanced first towards Ora; and he commanded Coenus to fortify near the city of Bazira a strong position and in this to leave a sufficient garrison, so that the populace might not feel at liberty to use the neighbouring country, and then to bring the rest of the army to join him. But the tribesmen in Bazira seeing Coenus departing with the majority of the army, made light of the Macedonians, as not likely to prove worthy opponents, and sallied out from the city; and there was a severe battle. In the battle as many as five hundred of the tribesmen fell, and over seventy were taken alive; the rest were driven back into the city and were now even there closely hindered from going into the country by those who held the stronghold facing their wall. Alexander found the siege of Ora not difficult; but at once attacking the walls he took the city at the first

πόλεως ἐκράτησε, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας τοὺς ἐγκαταλειφθέντας ἔλαβε.

XXVIII. Καὶ ταῦτα οἱ ἐν τοῖς Βαζίροις ὡς ἔμαθον, ἀπογνόντες τὰ σφέτερα πράγματα ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας τὴν πόλιν ἐκλείπουσιν. Ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι βάρβαροι ἔπραττον· ἀπολιπόντες τὰς πόλεις ξύμπαντες ἔφευγον ἐς τὴν πέτραν τὴν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τὴν Ἄορνον καλουμένην. Μέγα γάρ τι τοῦτο χρῆμα πέτρας ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ ἐστί, καὶ λόγος ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς κατέχει οὐδὲ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ
2 Διὸς ἁλωτὸν γενέσθαι τὴν πέτραν. Εἰ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐς Ἰνδοὺς ἀφίκετο ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ὁ Θηβαῖος ἢ ὁ Τύριος ἢ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, ἐς οὐδέτερα ἔχω ἰσχυρίσασθαι· μᾶλλον δὲ δοκῶ ὅτι οὐκ ἀφίκετο, ἀλλὰ πάντα γὰρ ὅσα χαλεπὰ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐς τοσόνδε ἄρα αὔξουσιν αὐτῶν τὴν χαλεπότητα ὡς καὶ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἂν ἄπορα γενέσθαι μυθεύειν. Κἀγὼ ὑπὲρ τῆς πέτρας ταύτης οὕτω γινώσκω, τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἐς κόμπον τοῦ λόγου ἐπιφημίζεσθαι.
3 Τὸν μὲν δὴ κύκλον τῆς πέτρας λέγουσιν ἐς διακοσίους σταδίους μάλιστα εἶναι, ὕψος δὲ αὐτῆς, ἵναπερ χθαμαλώτατον, σταδίων ἕνδεκα, καὶ ἀνάβασιν χειροποίητον μίαν χαλεπήν· εἶναι δὲ καὶ ὕδωρ ἐν ἄκρᾳ τῇ πέτρᾳ πολὺ καὶ καθαρόν, πηγὴν ἀνίσχουσαν, ὡς καὶ ἀπορρεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς πηγῆς ὕδωρ, καὶ ὕλην καὶ γῆν ἀγαθὴν ἐργάσιμον ὅσην καὶ χιλίοις ἀνθρώποις ἀποχρῶσαν ἂν εἶναι ἐργάζεσθαι.
4 Καὶ ταῦτα ἀκούοντα Ἀλέξανδρον πόθος λαμβάνει ἐξελεῖν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ὄρος, οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐπὶ τῷ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα μύθῳ πεφημισμένῳ. Τὰ μὲν δὴ Ὦρα καὶ τὰ Μάσσαγα φρούρια ἐποίησεν

attempt, and captured the elephants which had been left there.

XXVIII. When the inhabitants of Bazira learnt this, they lost confidence in their position, and about midnight deserted the city; and thus did all the remaining tribesmen; deserting their cities they all fled to the rock in this neighbourhood called Aornos.[1] It is an unusually large rock in this country, and the story about it is that even Heracles the son of Zeus was unable to capture it. Whether indeed Heracles, either the Theban or the Tyrian Heracles, or the Egyptian, ever reached India I cannot state confidently; I rather incline to think that he did not, but rather that whatever difficulties men meet, they exaggerate this difficulty so far as to relate a legend that Heracles himself could not have overcome them. This at any rate is my view about this rock, that Heracles has been brought in to make more of the story. In any case they give the circuit of the rock as about two hundred stades, its height, at its lowest part, at eleven stades; and there is said to be one way up only, a made way, and a rough one. On the top of the rock is plenty of pure water; it comes from a spring, and in fact even runs off the rock; there is also wood and good arable land there, enough for a thousand men to till.

As soon as Alexander heard this, he was seized with a desire to capture this mountain also, and not least by reason of the legend about Heracles. Ora and Massaga he made fortresses in the district; but

[1] On its site see Introduction.

ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ· τὰ Βάζιρα δὲ πόλιν ἐξετείχισε.
5 Καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἡφαιστίωνά τε καὶ Περδίκκαν αὐτῷ ἄλλην πόλιν ἐκτειχίσαντες (Ὀροβάτις ὄνομα τῇ πόλει ἦν), καὶ φρουρὰν καταλιπόντες ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν ᾔεσαν· ὡς δὲ ἀφίκοντο, ἔπρασσον ἤδη ὅσα ἐς τὸ ζεῦξαι τὸν Ἰνδὸν ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐτέτακτο.
6 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῆς μὲν χώρας τῆς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ σατράπην κατέστησε Νικάνορα τῶν ἑταίρων. Αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν ἦγε, καὶ πόλιν τε Πευκελαῶτιν οὐ πόρρω τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ᾠκισμένην ὁμολογίᾳ παρεστήσατο καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ φρουρὰν καταστήσας τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ Φίλιππον ἐπὶ τῇ φρουρᾷ ἡγεμόνα, ὁ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα προσηγάγετο μικρὰ πολίσματα πρὸς τῷ Ἰνδῷ ποταμῷ ᾠκισμένα. Ξυνείποντο δὲ αὐτῷ Κωφαῖός τε καὶ Ἀσσαγέτης
7 οἱ ὕπαρχοι τῆς χώρας. Ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐς Ἐμβόλιμα πόλιν, ἣ ξύνεγγυς τῆς πέτρας τῆς Ἀόρνου ᾤκεῖτο, Κράτερον μὲν ξὺν μέρει τῆς στρατιᾶς καταλείπει αὐτοῦ, σῖτόν τε ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὡς πλεῖστον ξυνάγειν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐς χρόνιον τριβήν, ὡς ἐντεῦθεν ὁρμωμένους τοὺς Μακεδόνας χρονίῳ πολιορκίᾳ ἐκτρυχῶσαι τοὺς κατέχοντας τὴν πέτραν, εἰ μὴ ἐξ ἐφόδου ληφθείη.
8 Αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς τοξότας τε ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τὴν Κοίνου τάξιν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης φάλαγγος ἐπιλέξας τοὺς κουφοτάτους τε καὶ ἅμα εὐοπλοτάτους καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων ἱππέων ἐς διακοσίους καὶ ἱπποτοξότας ἐς ἑκατὸν προσῆγε τῇ πέτρᾳ. Καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κατεστρατοπεδεύσατο ἵνα ἐπιτήδειον αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο·

the city of Bazira he enclosed with a wall. And Hephaestion and Perdiccas and those with them built a wall round another city, called Orobatis, and leaving there a garrison went on towards the river Indus; and on arrival, they took such steps as Alexander had ordered for the bridging of the Indus.

Of the region this side of the river Indus Alexander appointed Nicanor as governor, one of the Companions. He himself first went towards the river Indus and took over by surrender the city of Peucelaotis, situated not far from the Indus, and set a Macedonian garrison there with Philippus commandant of the garrison; and he also took over various small towns lying on the river Indus. With him followed Cophaeus and Assagetes, the governors of the country. Then reaching the city Embolima, which lay near the rock of Aornos, he left there Craterus with part of the army; bidding him get in as much provision as possible into the city and all else necessary for a long delay, so that the Macedonians, using the city as a base, might wear out the holders of the rock with a long blockade, should it not be captured by first assault. Then he himself taking the archers and the Agrianes and Coenus' brigade and choosing out the lightest from the rest of the phalanx, but at the same time the best armed, and with two hundred of the Companions' cavalry and a hundred mounted archers, approached the rock. For this day he encamped where it seemed to him

τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ὀλίγον προελθὼν ὡς πρὸς τὴν πέτραν αὖθις ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο.

XXIX. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἧκον παρ' αὐτὸν τῶν προσχώρων τινές, σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς ἐνδιδόντες καὶ ἡγήσασθαι φάσκοντες ἐς τῆς πέτρας τὸ ἐπιμαχώτατον, ὅθεν οὐ χαλεπὸν αὐτῷ ἔσεσθαι ἑλεῖν τὸ χωρίον. Καὶ ξὺν τούτοις πέμπει Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Λάγου τὸν σωματοφύλακα, τούς τε Ἀγριᾶνας ἄγοντα καὶ τοὺς ψιλοὺς τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἐπιλέκτους, προστάξας, ἐπειδὰν καταλάβῃ τὸ χωρίον, κατέχειν μὲν αὐτὸ ἰσχυρᾷ
2 φυλακῇ, οἷ δὲ σημαίνειν ὅτι ἔχεται. Καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ἐλθὼν ὁδὸν τραχεῖάν τε καὶ δύσπορον λανθάνει τοὺς βαρβάρους κατασχὼν τὸν τόπον· καὶ τοῦτον χάρακι ἐν κύκλῳ καὶ τάφρῳ ὀχυρώσας πυρσὸν αἴρει ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους ἔνθεν ὀφθήσεσθαι ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔμελλε. Καὶ ὤφθη τε ἅμα ἡ φλὸξ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπῆγε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τὴν στρατιάν· ἀμυνομένων δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων οὐδὲν
3 πλέον αὐτῷ ὑπὸ δυσχωρίας ἐγίγνετο. Ὡς δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἄπορον τὴν προσβολὴν κατέμαθον οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀναστρέψαντες τοῖς ἀμφὶ Πτολεμαῖον αὐτοὶ προσέβαλλον· καὶ γίγνεται αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων μάχη καρτερά, τῶν μὲν διασπάσαι τὸν χάρακα σπουδὴν ποιουμένων, τῶν Ἰνδῶν, Πτολεμαίου δὲ διαφυλάξαι τὸ χωρίον· καὶ μεῖον σχόντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἐν τῷ ἀκροβολισμῷ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης ἀνεχώρησαν.

4 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν τινὰ τῶν αὐτομόλων, πιστόν τε ἄλλως καὶ τῶν χωρίων δαήμονα, ἐπιλεξάμενος πέμπει παρὰ Πτολεμαῖον τῆς νυκτός, γράμματα φέροντα τὸν Ἰνδόν, ἵνα ἐγέ-

convenient; but next day he advanced a little towards the rock and camped again.

XXIX. Meanwhile some of the neighbouring tribesmen came to Alexander surrendering themselves and promising to lead him to the part of the rock which could best be assaulted, whence he could without difficulty capture the position. With these men he sent Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, his personal guard, with the Agrianes, the rest of the light troops and chosen men of the bodyguard, ordering him as soon as he should capture the position to hold it with a strong garrison, signalling to him that it was so held. Ptolemaeus then pursued a rough and difficult track and seized the place without the tribesmen's knowledge: then he strengthened it by a stockade all round and a trench, and showed a fire-signal from the height where Alexander was sure to see it. At once Alexander saw the flare, and next day he brought up his army; but as the tribesmen offered opposition he made no advance, owing to difficulties of the ground. But as soon as the tribesmen saw that Alexander's advance was ineffective, they turned and attacked Ptolemaeus and his troops; and a severe battle took place between them and the Macedonians, the Indians eagerly seeking to pull down the stockade, but Ptolemaeus to keep his hold on the position; in the exchange of long-range volleys the tribesmen had the worst, and at nightfall withdrew.

Alexander, however, selected a deserter of the Indians, trustworthy, and (what is more) with exact knowledge of the localities, and sent him by night to Ptolemaeus with a letter, in which it was written

γραπτο, ἐπειδὰν αὐτὸς προσβάλῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ, τὸν δὲ ἐπιέναι τοῖς βαρβάροις κατὰ τὸ ὄρος, μηδὲ ἀγαπᾶν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχοντα τὸ χωρίον, ὡς ἀμφοτέρωθεν βαλλομένους τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἀμφιβόλους
5 γίγνεσθαι. Καὶ αὐτὸς ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἄρας ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου προσῆγε τὴν στρατιὰν κατὰ τὴν πρόσβασιν ᾗ Πτολεμαῖος λαθὼν ἀνέβη, γνώμην ποιούμενος ὡς εἰ ταύτῃ βιασάμενος ξυμμίξει τοῖς ἀμφὶ Πτολεμαῖον, οὐ χαλεπὸν ἔτι ἐσόμενον αὐτῷ τὸ ἔργον. Καὶ ξυνέβη οὕτως.
6 Ἔστε μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν ξυνειστήκει καρτερὰ μάχη τοῖς τε Ἰνδοῖς καὶ τοῖς Μακεδόσι, τῶν μὲν ἐκβιαζομένων ἐς τὴν πρόσβασιν, τῶν δὲ βαλλόντων ἀνιόντας· ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἀνίεσαν οἱ Μακεδόνες, ἄλλοι ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἐπιόντες, οἱ δὲ πρόσθεν ἀναπαυόμενοι, μόγις δὴ ἀμφὶ δείλην ἐκράτησαν τῆς παρόδου καὶ ξυνέμιξαν τοῖς ξὺν Πτολεμαίῳ. Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὁμοῦ ἤδη γενομένη ἡ στρατιὰ πᾶσα ἐπήγετο αὖθις ὡς ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν πέτραν· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔτι ἄπορος ἦν αὕτη ἡ προσβολή. Ταύτῃ μὲν δὴ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦτο τὸ τέλος γίγνεται.

7 Ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἕω παραγγέλλει στρατιώτῃ ἑκάστῳ κόπτειν χάρακας ἑκατὸν κατ' ἄνδρα. Καὶ οὗτοι κεκομμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐχώννυεν ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ λόφου ἵνα ἐστρατοπεδευκότες ἦσαν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν χῶμα μέγα, ἔνθεν τοξεύματά τε ἂν ἐξικνεῖσθαι ἐς τοὺς προμαχομένους δυνατὰ αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο καὶ ἀπὸ μηχανῶν βέλη ἀφιέμενα· καὶ ἐχώννυον αὐτὸ πᾶς τις ἀντιλαμβανόμενος τοῦ ἔργου· καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφειστήκει θεατὴς καὶ ἐπαινέτης τοῦ ξὺν προθυμίᾳ περαινομένου, κολαστὴς δὲ τοῦ ἐν τῷ παραχρῆμα ἐκλιποῦς.

that so soon as Alexander himself should approach the rock, Ptolemaeus was to attack the tribesmen from the height, not contenting himself with merely holding the position, so that the Indians attacked from both sides might be between two fires. Then Alexander at dawn moved from his camp and brought his army to the incline by which Ptolemaeus had secretly ascended; reckoning that if he could force his way in this direction and join Ptolemaeus' force, the action would be a simple one; as indeed it fell out. For to midday there was a severe battle between the Indians and the Macedonians, these trying to force the approach, those shooting as their enemy approached. But as the Macedonians kept constantly coming up, detachment after detachment, while the earlier ones rested from the attack, with much difficulty about dusk they mastered the ascent and joined the force of Ptolemaeus. Thence the now united forces attacked again the rock itself; but even thus the attack failed. This was the close of operations that day.

At dawn Alexander bade each soldier to cut a hundred stakes; these were all cut,[1] and then he raised a great mound beginning from the top of the crest on which they had encamped up to the rock; from this arrows could reach the defenders, as he calculated, and missiles hurled from the engines. All hands took part in the work and built the mound; Alexander himself stood by, watching and approving anyone who worked zealously; but punishing any laggards.

[1] A slight change in the Greek would give the meaning "collected."

XXX. Τῇ μὲν δὴ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ὡς ἐπὶ στάδιον ἔχωσεν αὐτῷ ὁ στρατός. Ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν οἵ τε σφενδονῆται σφενδονῶντες ἐς τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ἤδη κεχωσμένου καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μηχανῶν βέλη ἀφιέμενα ἀνέστελλε τῶν Ἰνδῶν τὰς ἐκδρομὰς τὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς χωννύοντας. Καὶ ἐχώννυτο αὐτῷ ἐς τρεῖς ἡμέρας ξυνεχῶς τὸ χωρίον. Τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ βιασάμενοι τῶν Μακεδόνων οὐ πολλοὶ κατέσχον ὀλίγον γήλοφον ἰσόπεδον τῇ πέτρᾳ· καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος οὐδέν τι ἐλινύων ἐπῆγε τὸ χῶμα, ξυνάψαι ἐθέλων τὸ χωννύμενον τῷ γηλόφῳ ὅντινα οἱ ὀλίγοι αὐτῷ ἤδη κατεῖχον.
2 Οἱ δὲ Ἰνδοὶ πρός τε τὴν ἀδιήγητον τόλμαν τῶν ἐς τὸν γήλοφον βιασαμένων Μακεδόνων ἐκπλαγέντες καὶ τὸ χῶμα ξυνάπτον ἤδη ὁρῶντες, τοῦ μὲν ἀπομάχεσθαι ἔτι ἀπείχοντο· πέμψαντες δὲ κήρυκα σφῶν παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἐθέλειν ἔφασκον ἐνδοῦναι τὴν πέτραν, εἴ σφισι σπένδοιτο. Γνώμην δὲ πεποίηντο ἐν τῷ ἔτι διαμέλλοντι τῶν σπονδῶν διαγαγόντες τὴν ἡμέραν νυκτὸς ὡς ἕκαστοι διασκεδάννυσθαι ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα ἤθη.
3 Καὶ τοῦτο ὡς ἐπύθετο Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐνδίδωσιν αὐτοῖς χρόνον τε ἐς τὴν ἀποχώρησιν καὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τὴν κύκλωσιν τὴν πάντῃ ἀφελεῖν. Καὶ αὐτὸς ἔμενεν ἔστε ἤρξαντο τῆς ἀποχωρήσεως· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀναλαβὼν τῶν σωματοφυλάκων καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἐς ἑπτακοσίους κατὰ τὸ ἐκλελειμμένον τῆς πέτρας ἀνέρχεται ἐς αὐτὴν πρῶτος, καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες ἄλλος ἄλλῃ ἀνιμῶντες
4 ἀλλήλους ἀνῄεσαν. Καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀποχωροῦντας τῶν βαρβάρων τραπόμενοι ἀπὸ ξυνθήματος, πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ

XXX. On the first day the army had built the mound to about a stade in length. But on the next, the slingers using their slings from the mound so far built, and the missiles flung from the engines, kept down the sallies of the Indians upon the builders of the mound. In three days the mound had covered the whole space. But on the fourth a few Macedonians made a rush and held a small hill of the same level as the rock, and Alexander without a moment's delay extended the mound, anxious to make it continuous up to the hill which this small party was already holding.

The Indians were amazed at the incredible boldness of the Macedonians who had seized the hill, and seeing the mound already continuous began to desist from any defence, but sent an officer to ask Alexander for a truce, and said they would surrender the rock, on terms being granted them. They had formed a plan of spending the day in the delays incident to these terms and then, at night, scattering all to their own tribes. But when Alexander discovered this he gave them plenty of time for their withdrawal and for the removing of the investing patrols. Then he himself waited till they began their withdrawal; and meantime taking his bodyguards up to seven hundred to the now deserted part of the rock, he himself was the first to mount it, and the Macedonians pulling each other up, followed. These then at a signal turned upon the retreating tribesmen, and slew many of them in their flight; some in the panic

ἀπέκτειναν· οἱ δὲ καὶ πεφοβημένως ἀποχωροῦντες κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ῥίψαντες σφᾶς ἀπέθανον. Εἴχετό τε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἡ πέτρα ἡ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἄπορος γενομένη, καὶ ἔθυεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ κατεσκεύασε φρούριον, παραδοὺς Σισικόττῳ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς φρουρᾶς, ὃς ἐξ Ἰνδῶν μὲν πάλαι ηὐτομολήκει ἐς Βάκτρα παρὰ Βῆσσον, Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ κατασχόντος τὴν χώραν τὴν Βακτρίαν ξυνεστράτευέ τε αὐτῷ καὶ πιστὸς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐφαίνετο.

5 Ἄρας δὲ ἐκ τῆς πέτρας ἐς τὴν τῶν Ἀσσακηνῶν χώραν ἐμβάλλει. Τὸν γὰρ ἀδελφὸν τὸν Ἀσσακηνοῦ ἐξηγγέλλετο τούς τε ἐλέφαντας ἔχοντα καὶ τῶν προσχώρων βαρβάρων πολλοὺς ξυμπεφευ-
6 γέναι ἐς τὰ ταύτῃ ὄρη. Καὶ ἀφικόμενος ἐς Δύρτα πόλιν, τῶν μὲν ἐνοικούντων οὐδένα καταλαμβάνει οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ πρὸς τῇ πόλει· ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν Νέαρχόν τε καὶ Ἀντίοχον τοὺς χιλιάρχους τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἐκπέμπει· καὶ Νεάρχῳ μὲν τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τοὺς ψιλοὺς ἄγειν ἔδωκεν, Ἀντιόχῳ δὲ τήν τε αὑτοῦ χιλιαρχίαν καὶ δύο ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἄλλας. Ἐστέλλοντο δὲ τά τε χωρία κατοψόμενοι καὶ εἴ πού τινας τῶν βαρβάρων ξυλλαβεῖν ἐς ἔλεγχον τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τὰ ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἔμελεν αὐτῷ μαθεῖν.

7 Αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν ἤδη ἦγε, καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ αὐτῷ ὡδοποιεῖτο πρόσω ἰοῦσα ἄπορα ἄλλως ὄντα τὰ ταύτῃ χωρία. Ἐνταῦθα ξυλλαμβάνει ὀλίγους τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ παρὰ τούτων ἔμαθεν ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ Ἰνδοὶ παρὰ Ἀβισάρῃ ἀποπεφευγότες εἶεν, τοὺς ἐλέφαντας

of their escape threw themselves down the cliffs and so perished. Thus Alexander now held the rock that Heracles could not take, and he sacrificed there, and then established a guard there, appointing to command the guard Sisicottus, who had some time ago deserted from Bessus and come to Bactria; then when Alexander took Bactria he served under him and proved very trustworthy.

Alexander now left the rock and invaded the district of the Assacenians. For it was reported that Assacenus' brother with the elephants and many of the neighbouring tribesmen had taken refuge in these hills. Arriving at a city Dyrta, he found none of the inhabitants there, not even in the neighbourhood of the city; but the next day he sent out Nearchus and Antiochus the commander of the guards' regiments; to Nearchus he gave the Agrianes and the light troops, and to Antiochus his own regiment and two besides. They were sent to spy out the land and to seize any of the tribesmen they might find for interrogation; especially he was anxious to find out all about the elephants.

Then he himself now went on to the river Indus, and his army was sent in advance to prepare the road, since the country here was difficult. There he seized a few tribesmen, and learnt from them that the Indians of the district had fled to Abisarus, but that

δὲ ὅτι αὐτοῦ κατέλιπον νέμεσθαι πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Ἰνδῷ· καὶ τούτους ἡγήσασθαί οἱ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκέλευσεν ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας.
8 Εἰσὶ δὲ Ἰνδῶν πολλοὶ κυνηγέται τῶν ἐλεφάντων, καὶ τούτους σπουδῇ ἀμφ' αὑτὸν εἶχεν Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ τότε ἐθήρα ξὺν τούτοις τοὺς ἐλέφαντας· καὶ δύο μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπόλλυνται κατὰ κρημνοῦ σφᾶς ῥίψαντες ἐν τῇ διώξει, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ξυλληφθέντες ἔφερόν τε τοὺς ἀμβάτας καὶ τῇ
9 στρατιᾷ ξυνετάσσοντο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὕλῃ ἐργασίμῳ ἐνέτυχε παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν, καὶ αὕτη ἐκόπη αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ ναῦς ἐποιήθησαν. Καὶ αὗται κατὰ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν ἤγοντο ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἥντινα Ἡφαιστίων καὶ Περδίκκας αὐτῷ ἐξῳκοδομηκότες πάλαι ἦσαν.

he had left his elephants at pasture near the river Indus. These men he commanded to lead him the way to the elephants. Now many Indians hunt elephants, and Alexander made much of such in his following. And with them he hunted the elephants, and two of them threw themselves over cliffs in the pursuit and perished; the rest were captured, and permitted riders to mount them, and were taken into the army. And finding a wood, good for felling, near the river, Alexander had it cut down by his troops, and ships built. These sailed down the Indus to the bridge which Hephaestion and Perdiccas had long since built.

APPENDIX

The Bridge or Causeway in Book IV, xxi, §§ 3 ff.

Arrian usually follows his military authorities closely. Sometimes there is a suspicion that they (perhaps under orders, or from motives of flattery) magnified Alexander's difficulties. Sometimes we cannot but suspect that Arrian has not properly grasped his authorities, or tries to blend two different accounts. On the other hand, Sir Aurel Stein's identification of Aornos by means of Arrian's description, if correct, must incline us to take Arrian at his word elsewhere.

In the present passage, however anxious we may be to do so, there are difficulties.

There was a ravine all round the Rock of Chorienes; but there was only one way up the Rock. Alexander caused abundant trees to be felled: [here we expect to be told that, as before the Rock of Aornos (chs. xxix–xxx), he cast the trees into the ravine, where stakes had apparently been fixed, to hem in the tree trunks as they fell, so that they formed a bridge which, being piled up constantly, became a solid causeway. Yet the stakes at Aornos are not actually stated to have been fixed, and each man cut as many as 100 stakes; possibly, therefore, the Aornos "stakes" were themselves the timber thrown in

to fill the ravine. Here, however, we are actually told that] these trees were made into ladders, by which the troops could descend into the ravine. They did so descend; and fixed stakes or pegs (not the same word as in the Aornos context) into its "sharpest part"; these pegs or stakes were to bear loads, and so were presumably driven horizontally; on them were thrown hurdles or bundles of willow, etc., "bridge-fashion"; earth was heaped on them, and a bridge or causeway thus formed. Questions arise :—If the work was done from below, why the stakes or pegs? If it was done in the narrowest part of the ravine, how could so many troops (half the army at a time) be used? Why no mention of tree trunks or branches used to fill the ravine? Was the narrowest part of the ravine also its bottom? Or did it widen out below, where its stream ran? The best answer we can give to all these questions is, perhaps, that the ravine did so widen below; that the pegs or stakes were necessary because, at its narrowest point, it had actually to be bridged; that the willow-bundles were piled upon the stakes or pegs in rude cantilever fashion, till they met in the centre; and that upon this structure earth, not trees, was thrown from above by the troops (of whom only a few can have descended), and that the completed structure was thus both bridge and causeway. At Aornos Alexander not only filled the ravine, at the point of approach, but also built a mound up to a hillock of the same height as the Rock itself.

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